JPRS 72193

7 November 1978

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1606

EAST

EUROPE

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# LIST OF CANDIDATES FOR PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES PUBLISHED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Oct 78 p 1

[Announcement of the Central Elections Commission on the Registration of Candidates for People's Assembly Deputies]

[Text] The Central Elections Commission announces that in the 250 electoral zones the election commissions of the zones have completed the registration of the candidates for deputy in order and in accordance with legal provisions.

The best workers in the fields of production, science, art and culture, young men and young women, women, workers in party, state and mass organizations, military personnel, etc. have been nominated as candidates for People's Assembly deputies.

The elections commissions of the zones have registered the following candidates nominated for People's Assembly deputies:

Zone Ca	andidate	Zone	Candidate	Zone	<u>Candidate</u>
I. BERA	AT DISTRICT	II.	DIBER DISTRICT	ци.	DURRES DISTRICT
1. Fi	igret Shchu	15.	Lumturije Bunguri	27.	Sulejman Gallai
2. Va	asilika Papa	16.	Haxhi Lleshi	28.	Besim Domi
3. M	ine Guri	17.	Violeta Kamberi	29.	Liri Laknori
4. Ma	anush Myftiu	18.	Sheza Balliu	30.	Luan Babameto
5. Th	nanas Diamanti	19.	Hidajet Lahi	31.	Dervish Shahini
6. Ed	qerem Lezo	20.	Destan Ajazi	32.	Sulejman Baholli
7. Ve	ehbi Doksani	21.	Hekuran Isai	33.	Lutfije Muka
8. V:	iktor Nushi	22.	Jovan Bardhi	34.	Rita Marko
9. Pe	etro Olldashi	23.	Tefta Cami	35.	Nexhmije Hoxha
10. As	sim Kosova	24.	Izet Islami	36.	Aishe Stari
11. Di	himiter Brisku	25.	Rahman Hanku	37.	Kristaq Rama
12. Ad	dil Delibashi	26.	Hatixhe Avda	38.	Inajete Agolli
13. M	ilika Aleksi			39.	Spiro Moisiu
14. Na	aunka Bushi			40.	Petraq Kazanxhi

Zone	<u>Candidate</u>	Zone	Candidate	Zone	Candidate
41.	Nusret Llulla	VI.	GRAMSH DISTRICT	114.	Ismail Minja
42.	Mihallaq Zicishti	,		115.	Muharrem Sefa
43.	Mustafa Hajdini	82.	Haki Ajazi	116.	Hamid Taga
44.	Petrit Xhani	83.	Seit Lila	117.	Mrike Arapi
45.	Faredin Shquti	84.	Aferdita Haxhia	118.	Muharrem Xhafa
73.	rardam buquer	04.	THE CLUTCH HAMILA	119.	Vitore Ndoci
IV.	ELBASAN DISTRICT	VII.	GJIROKASTER		V10010 1.0001
			DISTRICT	XI.	KUKES DISTRICT
46.	Adil Carcani				
47.	Vasil Kamami	85.	Rashide Gjini	120.	Ismail Nika
48.	Romeo Ashiku	86.	Haki Toska	121.	Selim Shehu
49.	Dhora Binjaku	87.	Flamur Cani	122.	Lefter Goga
50.	Nuredin Hoxha	88.	Nedin Hoxha	123.	Nazmije Poga
51.	Ibrahim Gjevori	89.	Vitoria Curi	124.	Lumturi Baja
52.	Petrit Gace	90.	Ali Manaj	125.	Sadie Ismailaj
53.	Feruz Mataj			126.	Xhafer Spahiu
54.	Vjollca Kallajxhi	VIII.	KOLONJE DISTRICT		
55.	Sulejman Kapidani			XII.	LEZHE DISTRICT
56.	Beqir Kacollja	91.	Suat Leka		
57.	Demir Hyskja	92.	Petro Dode	127.	Vito Kapo
58.	Bukuri Bica			128.	Tereze Vuka
59.	Qemal Idrizi	IX.	KORCE DISTRICT	129.	Kadri Hakaj
60.	Ramis Nasufi		·	130.	Gjovalin Dodaj
61.	Petrit Hakani	93.	Qirjako Mihali	131.	Drita Prenci
62.	Ferdinand Shkalla	94.	Suzana Shukullari		
		95.	Behar Shtylla	XIII.	LIBRAZHD DISTRICT
٧.	FIER DISTRICT	96.	Mihal Lako		
		97.	Spiro Lera	132.	Ruzhdije Hasula
63.	Eleni Cuni	98.	Lirika Thimi	133.	Hasan Kasa
64.	Xhevrie Dimo	99.	Thimi Mele	134.	Hysen Faqolli
65.	Spiro Koleka	100.		135.	•
66.	Jani Loshi	101.	Osman Dellinja	136.	Salie Kukli
67.	Ismet Mernica	102.	Vangjel Cerrava	•	
68.	Sila Veruari	103.	Niko Ceta	XIV.	LUSHNJE DISTRICT
69.	Luftar Paja	104.	Eleni Selenica		
70.	Lumturi Shehu	105.	Kristaq Dollaku	137.	Lenka Cuko
71.	Qemal Rrapushi	106.	Antigoni Miska	138.	Naile Bali
72.	Shefqet Peci	107.	Thoma Teli	139.	Hena Bardhi
73.	Dhimiter Qoku	108.	Alije Kalaja	140.	Hasan Sharka
74.	Jorgo Varfi	109.	Llambi Zicishti	141.	Bajram Nezha
75.	Nimete Kodheli	110.	Nesti Nase	142.	Mahmude Gjata
76.	Violeta Duka	111.	Dritero Agolli	143.	Dalan Gega
77.	Naunka Bozo	i		144.	Themije Thomai
78.	Shpetim Dervishi	X. K	RUJE DISTRICT	145.	Lili Xharo
79.	Mendo Radovicka			146.	Lirije Lapi
80.	Selam Hoda	112.	Kasem Llubani	147.	Natasha Cela
81.	Bilbil Jaupaj	113.	Fiqirete Fyshku		

Zone	Candidate	Zone	Candidate	Zone	<u>Candidate</u>
xv.	MAT DISTRICT	XXI.	SKRAPAR DISTRICT	214.	Ismail Kadare
				215.	Kostandin Manushi
148.	Rrapi Gjermeni	178.	Qemal Buzali	216.	Fejzi Hoxha
149.	Lule Tafaji	179.	Baftjar Cela	217.	Parashqevi Ruci
150.	Sul Domi	180.	Hafet Mahmutaj	218.	Gezim Shyri
151.	Ibrahim Farrici	181.	Selman Ismaili	219.	Shaban Kercani
152.	Dan Salaj			220.	Mehmet Shehu
153.	Ndue Menga	XXII.	SHKODER DISTRICT	221.	Eva Budina
				222.	Ibrahim Madhi
XVI.	MIRDITE DISTRICT	182.	Fejzije Kaja	223.	Rexhep Shehu
		183.	Vehbi Bala	224.	Fiqirie Grori
154.	Gjele Marku	184.	Zina Franja	225.	Bilal Sina
155.	Mark Dudi	185.	Ramiz Alia	226.	Lumturi Rexha
156.	Geg Kacorri	186.	Hantije Duraj	227.	Petrit Radovicka
157.	Zef Loka	187.	Margarita Hajati	228.	Sulejman Pellumbi
		188.	Luigj Pepaj	229.	Rexhep Kolli
XVII.	PERMET DISTRICT	189.	Salih Dibra	230.	Ramiz Kerciku
		190.	Marije Temali	231.	Vjollca Rama
158.	Liri Miti	191.	Vase Savoja	232.	Myslim Peza
159.	Duro Kopo	192.	Bilal Parruca		
160.	Hajrulla Muhametaj	193.	Asim Zekja	XXV.	TROPOJE DISTRICT
161.	Fadil Hamiti	194.	Zef Ara	000	7 1 G1 1 1 1
*****	DOGDADEG.	195.	Gjyste Marku	233.	Jakup Shiqerukaj
XVIII		196.	•	234.	Filip Meshi
	DISTRICT	197.	Serafin Fanku	235.	Skender Doci
160	Dil. David strand	198.	Belkize Zeneli Adem Lani	7/3/3/T	M ODE DICTOR
162. 163.	Pilo Peristeri	199. 200.		XXVI.	VLORE DISTRICT
164.	Eleni Pashko	200.	Bukurije Cungu	236.	Hysni Kapo
165.	Ferzie Lipo Llambi Gegprifti	XXIII	. TEPELENE	237.	Ervehe Guaci
166.	Maliq Menkshi	VVIII	DISTRICT	238.	Olimbi Myshkeri
100.	Harry Menkshi		DIBIRIOI	239.	Gaqo Nesho
XIX.	PUKE DISTRICT	201.	Telo Mezini	240.	Bajram Arapi
77.77.	TORE DISTRICT	202.	Hatika Hajnaj	241.	Andon Dollaku
167.	Sherif Bytyci	203.	Tahir Kallembi	242.	Lavdosh Luari
168.	Preng Pistja		Veli Llakaj	243.	Maliq Sadushi
	Zef Doci			244.	Rrapo Dervishi
	Pali Miska	XXIV.	TIRANA DISTRICT	245.	_
	·		•	246.	<del>-</del> .
XX.	SARANDE DISTRICT	205.	Aleks Buda	247.	Aranit Cela
		206.	Prokop Murra	248.	Llambrini Ngjelo
171.	Kadri Hazbiu	207.	Simon Stefani	249.	Hatixhe Isakaj
172.	Nikolla Naci	208.	Fiqirete Elmazaj	250.	Sihat Tozaj
173.	Jashar Menzelxhiu	209.	Enver Hoxha		
174.	Halim Pashuni	210.			the Central Elec-
175.	Kico Mustaqi	211.		tions	Commission
176.		212.			
177.	Vito Mucaj	213.	Stavri Viko		

# CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAMS TO HOXHA ON 70TH BIRTHDAY

Telegram From Le Duan

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Oct 78 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, Tirana

On the occasion of your 70th birthday, in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and on my own behalf, I send you warm greetings.

I wish you good health so that, together with the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, you can guide the entire party and the entire fraternal Albanian people to achieve even greater successes in the building of socialism in Albania.

I take advantage of this opportunity to express to you our sincere gratitude for your support in regard to our cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland.

Le Duan, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam

Telegram From Kim Il-song

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Oct 78 p 1

[Text] To Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the CC of the AWP, Tirana

On the occasion of your 70th birthday, I send you, in the name of the CC of the Korean Workers Party and on my own behalf, my warm congratulations.

I take advantage of this opportunity to wish you successes in your noble work for the fruitful achievement of the building of socialism in your country and for the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of our two countries and I express my wishes for your good health.

Kim Il-song, secretary general of the Korean Workers Party

Telegram From Kekkonen

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Oct 78 p 1

[Text] To His Excellency Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the Central Committee of the AWP, Tirana

On the occasion of your 70th birthday, Mr First Secretary, I send my warmest congratulations.

Urho Kekkonen, president of the Republic of Finland

BULGARIA

# BULGARIAN CCP FIRST SECRETARY VISITS ANGOLA

Neto, Zhivkov Propose Toasts

Sofia BTA in English 1345 GMT 20 Oct 78 AU

[Text] Luanda, 20 Oct (BTA)—Socialism is an element of peace for all peoples in the world and the sole way through which man could be released from the grip of poverty," said Mr Agostinho Neto, chairman of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Labour Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola in an executive speech delivered last night at the dinner given for the first secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Making a historical review of the Bulgarian people's struggle against fascism and capitalism, Mr Neto, having expressed his own immense respect for George Dimitrov's revolutionary merits in the liberation of the Bulgarian people, said that the fraternal Republic of Bulgaria was one of the first socialist countries in Europe to fight for peace and progress.

People's Republic of Bulgaria, he went on, was also one of the countries which aided MPLA in their struggle against colonialism.

As far as the people of Angola are concerned, their party and government will continue to stand by all peoples fighting for national liberation. The Angolan people's help for SWAPO (South West African People's Organization), the Patriotic Front and the African National Congress of the South African Republic, will never cease till the final liberation of Africa and its development in all spheres.

As far as international cooperation is concerned, the leader of the Angolan state said that his country would maintain relations of friendship and bilateral cooperation with all progressive forces in the world.

Socialist Angola maintains ties of cooperation with other African and world countries.

Toast Speech by T. Zhivkov

"We the Bulgarian communists, are proud of the fact that indissoluble fraternal ties were established between the BCP and the MPLA from the first day of your sacred struggle.

"In the time of severe trial for you the BCP went shoulder to shoulder with the MPLA, firmly confident that your cause is just, with the belief that you will triumph," said Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, in his toast speech at the official dinner given in his honor here tonight by the MPLA Labour Party chairman and president of Angola, Mr Agostinho Neto.

Mr Zhivkov underlined that the talks held in Angola were sincere, constructive and fruitful. "Our views on all international problems fully coincide," said he. "We are ready to make every effort to expand and enrich the political, economic, scientific and technological, trade and cultural relations between our two countries, in order to bring them to a still higher level."

Dwelling on the struggle of the Angolan people for liberation and construction of a new socialist Angola, Mr Zhivkov stressed the great merits of the outstanding patriot and internationalist, Agostinho Neto.

The Bulgarian head of state spoke of the struggle of the African peoples against racism and apartheid, against the encroachments of imperialism and the attempts at recolonizing that continent. "Unfortunately, the imperialists have in this antihumane campaign China as their ally," said Mr Zhivkov. "The Peking leaders, who have long ago broken with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, are obligingly complying both in their antisocialist propaganda and in setting some countries against the others. They raise slogans against hegemony but resort themselves to any means to exercise hegemony over the world and some of its parts." Mr Zhivkov sent on to say further in his toast that in our time the honesty and purity of any policy and move are tested in the same way: whether they support peace and progress or stand for war and, therefore, are against peace and progress. [In] this aspect the moves of the Peking leaders unmask themselves because mankind yearns for peace and progress.

Mr Todor Zhivkov expressed once again Bulgaria's support to the struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa against imperialism, racism and apartheid, [and] for national liberation. "We do not recognize and will never recognize any decisions taken behind the back of these nations," said he, "without the participation and against the will of the people's organizaton for liberation of South West Africa and the Patriotic Front of the people of Zimbabwe."

Mr Todor Zhivkov underlined that the struggle for consolilation of peace and security in Europe and the world has made a good progress in recent years—the trend of detente is ever more prevalent. He stressed that the most pressing and essential task of our time, of all states now, irrespective of their political and social systems, is to stop the arms race and to begin real disarmament.

Mr Zhivkov emphasized in conclusion that sound traditions of solidarity, friendship and cooperation have been established between the two countries and the two parties. "I would like to assure you once again that we, Bulgarians, are ready to share with you our achievements and our experience. It is in this that we see the real essence and real meaning of our proletarian internationalism."

## Friendship, Cooperation Treaty

Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 22 Oct 78 AU

[Text] Sofia, 22 Oct (BTA) -- The friendship and cooperation treaty between Bulgaria and Angola, signed in Luanda yesterday by Mr Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the CC of the BCP and State Council president, and by Mr Agostinho Neto, chairman of the MPLA-Labour Party and president of Angola, is published.

This is the first document of this kind to be concluded by Bulgaria with an African country. It is a confirmation of her consistent and principled policy of strengthening the unity of action between the countries of the socialist community and the developing countries and all progressive forces in the interests of the security of the peoples and social progress.

In the preamble to the treaty it is pointed out that the two high contracting parties, guided by the goals and principles of the UN Charter, are filled with determination to contribute to the consolidation of international peace and security, in the interests of the peoples of all countries.

The treaty, which is made up of 13 clauses, creates wide prerequisites for the further expansion and deepening of cooperation and direct links between the two countries in the sphere of agriculture, industry, transport, trade, science, and arts, health care, etc.

Each of the contracting parties solemnly declared that it will not take part in alliances, groups of states or actions and measures directed against the other contracting party. It is pointed out that their obligations under international treaties in force are not at variance with the stipulations of the treaty and that they undertake not to conclude any other international treaty which might be incompatible with the treaty signed in Luanda.

Under the treaty the two countries will continue to make their contribution in the struggle for peace throughout the world and will make efforts for deepening the process of international detente, for solving international problems by peaceful means, for concluding a world treaty for the nonuse of force in international relations and for attaining general and complete disarmament, including nuclear, under effective international control.

The contracting parties will continue to conduct a consistent struggle against the forces of imperialism for the definitive doing away with colonialism, neocolonialism, and apartheid. They will support the just struggle of the peoples for freedom, national independence and social progress. For attaining these goals they will cooperate with each other, and also with the other peaceloving states.

The treaty has been concluded for a period of 20 years and will be automatically extended for each following 5 years if neither of the parties denounces it before the expiry of the respective term.

Communique on Zhivkov Visit

Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 22 Oct 78 AU

[Bulgaro-Angolan Communique--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 22 Oct (BTA)—At the invitation of the of the chairman of the MPLA-Labour Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, Dr Agostinho Neto, the first secretary of the CC of the BCP and State Council president, Mr Todor Zhivkov, paid an official and friendly visit to the People's Republic of Angola from October 19 to 22. He was accompanied by a Bulgarian party and government delegation.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Agostinho Neto had talks which passed off in an atmosphere of cordiality, friendship and mutual understanding.

In the joint communique published here it is pointed out that the Angolan party and state leader emphasized the importance of the assistance which Bulgaria and the other countries of the socialist community give to the national liberation movements and the African peoples fighting for doing away with colonial slavery, against neocolonialism and the imperialist encroachments for destabilizing the independent African states.

Mr Zhivkov greeted the international solidarity which characterizes the foreign policy of the People's Republic of Angola in support of the peoples fighting against colonialism and apartheid.

The two leaders appreciate the positive results achieved in economic, scientific and technological cooperation and in trade between Bulgaria and Angola. They also note that great possibilities exist which should be utilized in the further accelerated development of bilateral cooperation.

A friendship and cooperation treaty was signed between Bulgaria and Angola during the visit. A cooperation protocol between the BCP and the MPLA-Labour Party, guidelines for economic, scientific and technological cooperation, a protocol for scientific and cultural cooperation in 1979-1980 and an agreement for cooperation between the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency and ANGOP were also signed.

The two party and state leaders examined the present international situation and noted with satisfaction the identity of their views on the most important international problems.

They stressed the need for deepening and strengthening the process of detente in all parts of the world. This process is closely connected with the taking of specific measures for discontinuing the arms race and for general and complete disarmament, the communique reads.

The two sides condemned the plans for the production of new types of weapons for mass destruction, such as the neutron bomb, and declared themselves in favor of their complete prohibition. They warn of the danger which the possession by the regimes of South Africa and Israel of technical facilities for the production of nuclear weapons represents for the peoples of Africa and for international peace and security throughout the world.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Agostinho Neto vigorously condemned the policy of aggression and armed intervention of the imperialist forces against African states, and the attempt at setting up the so-called "Inter-African Force for Intervention," directed to the destabilization of the progressive African states and the suppression of the liberation struggle on the continent of Africa.

The two leaders noted with satisfaction the efforts of the countries of the socialist community, of the Soviet Union in particular, and of all democratic and progressive forces in Africa and the world directed to the protection and consolidation of international peace, security and cooperation.

The two presidents reiterated their support for the right of the people of Namibia to independence and observance of the territorial integrity of their country. They declared themselves in favor of the immediate withdrawal of the South African forces and administration from the occupied territory of Namibia and for handing over the power to the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, SWAPO, it is emphasized in the communique.

They reject the so-called "internal settlement" of the issue of Zimbabwe and reaffirm the need of handing over the power to its people, represented by their vanguard, the Patriotic Front.

Mr T. Zhivkov praised the firm stand of the front-line countries in support of the national liberation movements in the African south and of militant

solidarity with the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa and condemned the aggressive actions of the racist and fascist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury against Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Agostinho Neto expressed their profound concern for the situation in the Middle East and energetically condemned the aggressive policy of Israel which is the main cause of tension in that area. They are convinced that the separatist and anti-Arab deals in Camp David will not solve the problems of that area, it is emphasized in the communique.

The two sides vigorously condemned the hegemonic policy of the Chinese leaders who support and stimulate aggressive actions which threaten the independence and sovereignty of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and in alliance with international reaction create tension and dangers to peace and security not only in Southeast Asia but also throughout the world.

They supported the just demand of the Korean people's and democratic republic for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the southern part of its territory for the peaceful unification of the country.

BULGARIA

#### REPORTS ON ZHIVKOV'S OFFICIAL VISIT TO ANGOLA

Lays Wreath at Angolan Memorial

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 20 Oct 78 AU

[Text] The second day of the visit by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to the People's Republic of Angola began with an official ceremony at the monument to the unknown soldier in Luanda. In paying tribute to the heroes who perished for Angola's independence, Comrade Todor Zhivkov laid a wreath at the monument. The ceremony was attended by Agostinho Neto, chairman of the MPLA-Labour Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola.

Zhivkov, Nascimento: Visit Border State

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Oct 78 AU

[Special correspondent Boyan Traykov report from Luanda--recorded]

[Text] [Name indistinct] Province of Angola was host to Comrade Todor Zhivkov today, where he was briefed on the struggle and on the difficulties in building the new life, about the joy of the free people of Angola. Accompanied by Lopo do Nascimento, Politburo member of the MPLA-Labour Party Central Committee and first premier of the People's Republic of Angola, Comrade Todor Zhivkov was very enthusiastically greeted with songs, flowers and cheers by the citizens of (Lobango), the capital of (Huila) Province, an agricultural area which is also the foremost border fortress of Angola against the racism of the South African regime.

A very enthusiastic meeting attended by thousands of people was held, at which people loudly chanted about friendship with the BCP and with Bulgaria. Comrade Zhivkov was welcomed as the personal friend of Agostinho Neto and as a great comrade of socialist Angola. Comrade Todor Zhivkov delivered an inspired address to this enthusiastic mass of people:

On behalf of our people, on behalf of the BCP and on his own behalf Comrade Todor Zhivkov wished the inhabitants of (Lobango) and of (Huila) Province great successes in building a new, socialist Angola. I regret only one thing, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated, namely that I am not a poet like Comrade Agostinho Neto in order to glorify your beautiful province, and you, the proud and noble inhabitants of this area.

After having dwelt on the militant traditions of Bulgarian-Angolan friend-ship and cooperation, Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated as follows:

We have covered thousands of kilometers in order to come to you who are our brothers in struggle and in ideas. The fighters for peace and socialism have different skin colors—white, yellow or black. Here in your country the sun shines more strongly than in our country, and therefore your color is darker. Our blood, however, has the same color. It is red, and we are marching under the same red banner.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also expressed his firm conviction that the cooperation and friendship between the two countries and parties, and between the two peoples will receive new impulses and a new impetus and that our friendship and cooperation will be our joint contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism in the struggle for peace and socialism.

This speech delivered by Todor Zhivkov received stormy applause; it was ardently approved and was greeted with enthusiasm. The address was accompanied by prelonged ovations and long chanting of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's name, Bulgaria and of the word "druzhba" [friendship].

After the meeting Comrade Todor Zhivkov visited the experimental production farms in [name indistinct]. Here he was welcomed by the Georgi Dimitrov Komsomol Group, a hundred Bulgarian young people, zootechnicians, farmers, machine operators and economic experts, as well as other such workers who are creating a model of contemporary socialist agriculture. The happiness of the Bulgarian experts to be able to greet Comrade Todor Zhivkov was shared by a brigade of Soviet specialists who are building a cultural club, a stadium and other public buildings in [name indistinct]. At the center of the future home of Bulgarian-Soviet-Angolan friendship, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Premier Nascimento planted two small trees [word indistinct].

The Angolan mass media—radio, television and press—give very broad coverage to Comrade Todor Zhivkov's visit by strongly emphasizing the great importance of this visit for Bulgarian—Angolan friendship and the great importance of this visit for the internationalism of the fighers for freedom, progress and socialism.

Radio Luanda several times reported excerpts from Comrade Todor Zhivkov's toast last night and devoted particular attention to his works pertaining

to the danger of imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism for Africa [and] to the danger of the harmful policy of the Peking leadership.

Joint Documents in Preparation

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 21 Oct 78 AU

[Text] Today is the third day of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's official visit to the People's Republic of Angola. The results achieved so far during this visit lead us to draw the conclusion that it will give a further impetus to Bulgarian-Angolan cooperation.

In Luanda this morning the members of the two delegations had talks at various levels on coordinating and drawing up the appropriate documents. Prior to this, the two party and state leaders were expected to continue the official Bulgarian-Angolan talks, which will be concluded with the signing of important documents—on cooperation between the two parties, on cooperation in the sphere of science and culture and on cooperation between the telegraph agencies of the two countries.

A joint communique on Todor Zhivkov's official visit to Angola is also to be coordinated and released for publication.

Bulgarian Correspondent Reports Developments

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 21 Oct 78 AU

[Text] Sofia Radio special correspondent to Luanda, Boyan Traykov, has reported the following over the telephone [read by announcer]:

Today was a working day for the Bulgarian-Angolan talks. Responsible representatives of the two countries discussed many topics of interest to the two sides and achieved concrete agreements. They drew up the documents which will express the new height reached in cooperation and friendship between Bulgaria and Angola.

The personal talks between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Agostinho Neto, talks which can be characterized as clear, principled-minded, frank, constructive, friendly and cordial, also continued today. This atmosphere and nature of the Todor Zhivkov-Agostinho Neto dialog gives us a further justification for expecting the signing of protocols on cooperation between the BCP and the MPLA-Labour Party on basic trends in economic and scientific-technical cooperation, on scientific and cultural cooperation, as well as an agreement between the Bulgarian and Angolan telegraph agencies. We also expect the supreme moment—the signing of a friendship and cooperation treaty between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Angola, which will be signed by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, and Agostinho Neto, chairman of the MPLA-Labour Party and president of Angola.

Guided by a desire to strengthen the ties of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries and peoples, and based on the principle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, Bulgaria and Angola solemnly declare in their treaty that they will cooperate in safe-guarding and expanding the socioeconomic achievements of their peoples, will strengthen the existing unbreakable friendship and will expand the relations of comprehensive cooperation in the political, economic, trade, scientific-technical, cultural and other spheres on the basis of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in domestic affairs and equality.

This is an historic development, dear radio listeners, which creates a qualitative new basis for building and developing the mutual cooperation between Bulgaria and Angola and opens further horizons for the friendship between the Bulgarian and Angolan peoples. This will be the first time that a friendship and cooperation treaty will be signed between Bulgaria and an African country. This is truly an historic development, which contributes a great deal to strengthening mutual relations of friendship and cooperation between the newly liberated African countries which have undertaken a socialist path of development and the countries of real socialism. This is a development to which everybody will attribute great international significance.

When the documents are signed, dear radio listeners, my colleagues, to whom I have given the texts, will inform you later about the friendship and co-operation treaty between Bulgaria and Angola, about the cooperation protocol between the BCP and the MPLA-Labour Party, and about the joint communique on the Bulgarian-Angolan talks and on the talks between Todor Zhivkov and Agostinho Neto.

Boyan Traykov, Sofia Radio correspondent, ended his report by adding that he will report from Mozambique tomorrow night.

Bulgarian Zhivkov Toasts Neto

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Oct 78 p 5 AU

[Apparent text of toast by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, at 19 October official dinner given by Agostinho Neto, chairman of the MPLA Labour Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola]

[Text] Dear Comrade Neto, dear Angolan friends, at the invitation of Comrade Neto we have the pleasure and high honor of being your guests. Allow me to express the most cordial and sincere gratitude of all the comrades who are accompanying me, as well as my personal gratitude for the opportunity to become closely acquainted with heroic Angola, its wonderful people and with you, our brothers and comrades in ideas, battles and victories.

I would like to find the most precise and cordial words to express our gratitude, and I think the only way of doing this is by conveying the fraternal feelings and most sincere greetings of the Bulgarian communists and all Bulgarian working people for new successes by free and independent Angola!

The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Angola are connected by everything and separated by nothing. We are connected not only by the present, but also by our similar past and common future!

I am sure that I will also express your feelings and thoughts if I say that it was lucky for the Angolan people that its irresistable attack on colonialism was led by the MPLA, the organized iron unit of the workers and peasants, armed with the most powerful modern weapon—the theory of Marxism—Leninism! The MPLA united the most selfless sons and daughters of Angola, led them in the fight against colonialism and defeated it.

I am sure that I also express your feelings and thoughts if I say that it was lucky for the Angolan people that Dr Agostinho Neto, the remarkable patriot and internationalist, noted figure of the African National Liberation Movement, fighter for world peace and social progress, hero of the People's Republic of Angola, laureate of the international Dimitrov prize, any my personal friend and comrade, was born in Angola and headed the struggle against colonialism and intervention, and the peaceful march toward constructing the new and socialist Angola!

Imperialism, international reaction and the racists have tried and are trying to stifle your newly born and independent motherland. But you fought self-lessly and won with the assistance of the socialist countries, and first of all with the assistance of the USSR and Cuba. This was an historic victory for all Africa!

We, the Bulgarian communists, are proud that from the first days of your holy struggle we established fraternal and indestructible relations between the BCP and the National Movement for the Liberation of Angola—the MPLA. We were strongly convinced that your cause was right, and we had the confidence that you would win! And you won, and will continue to win!

Yes, you yourself know that your country received a very difficult heritage and was left by colonialism and war with bleeding wounds. But the MPLA and the people's government do not give in to difficulties. The party and the government started their way along the road of radical socioeconomic transformations. The decisions to construct the foundations of socialism in your country, which was adopted by the first MPLA congress, is a historic decision.

I believe that in only a few decades Angola will be a restored and strong modern socialist state. All preconditions for this already exist.

Comrades, during recent recades Africa was shaken by the powerful upheavals of exceptional events and transformations in the areas of social relations, politics and economy. The peoples of Africa are uniting against racism and apartheid and against the attempts of imperialism. The colonialists are constantly suffering defeats, but they do not resign. The darkest forces of reaction are uniting and plotting against the young and free African states. The Western countries, and especially the United States, are making desperate attempts to recolonize the continent. They utilize different sorts of slanders, blackmail, traps. They twist the truth, and seek to present things in such a way as if the socialist countries were the ones endangering Africa's independence and freedom. The efforts of the imperialists are late and futile!

The African working people have grown up politically. They fully understand their tasks and without mistake can identify who their real friends are and who the pretenders are.

It is regreatable that in this unworthy and antipeople campaign the imperialists have China as their ally. After breaking with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism a long time ago the Peking leaders are demonstrating commendable diligence in their antisocialist propaganda as well as their turning states against each other. They raised the slogan against hegemonism but they themselves use any means for imposing their hegemonism over the world and its separate parts. You know best that in the difficult days of your liberation struggle, the alleged revolutionaries from Peking were on the other side of the barricade, where the South African racists and Western mercenaries were. Today, however, every honest and pure policy, every honest and pure act are tested by one criterion: are they for peace and progress and against war, or are they for war and against peace and progress. Thus tested and thus evaluated, the Peking leaders have unmasked themselves through their acts because mankind desires peace and progress.

Dear comrades, the colonial system has collapsed, but it has not been destroyed once for all. South of your country millions of people continue to suffer and be killed. The people of Namibia are being subjected to the most cruel racist crimes and bloody terror. All rights of the peoples of Zimbabwe and the South African Republic have been oppressed.

We support the struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa against imperialism, racism and apartheid, and for national liberation!

We do not recognize and will not recognize any decision that has been taken behind the backs of these peoples, without their participation and against the will of the people's organization for the liberation of South West Africa [?SWAPO] and the Patriotic Front of the Zimbabwe people! We believe that despite the treachery of racism and despite the intervention of foreign monopolies, the sun of freedom will also rise south of the Kunene and Zambezi rivers, just as it did in the rest of Africa!

Dear comrades, in recent years the struggle for strengthening peace and security in Europe and the world has achieved delightful results. The detente tendency is becoming more and more dominant. It cannot be otherwise. The peoples are deeply interested in turning this process into a lasting and irreversible one. Stopping the arms race and beginning real disarmament is the most urgent and main task of our time, a task of all states, regardless of their political and social systems.

Imperialist and reactionary circles are finding loopholes and means of opposing the positive tendencies in international life, are exercising pressure, provoke military conflicts and are trying to push mankind back toward the "cold war" years.

It depends on us, on every country and every people to prevent this. "No!" to war. "Yes!" to peace--This is the common slogan which resounds in the world.

Dear Angolan brothers, strong traditions of solidarity, friendship and cooperation have been consolidated between our parties and republics. They were both in the struggle, but they continue also today during construction. Some of the best Bulgarian doctors, agronomists, engineers, builders and university lecturers are working in Angola to restore agriculture and industry. Angolan youth are studying in our universities and technical schools. They are accumulating knowledge and experience which they are going to use here, for the benefit of your people.

I would like to assure you once again: We Bulgarians are ready to share our achievements, knowledge and experience with you. In this we see the real meaning and real significance of the proletarian internationalism.

Two years have passed since you, Comrade Neto, were our welcomed and dear guest. At that time we marked the basic trends for developing comprehensive relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Angola.

The talks we are now having with you and other Angolan leaders are frank, constructive and fruitful. Our positions on all international issues fully coincide. We are unanimous, ready and will do everything to enrich and expand our political, economic, scientific-technical, trade and cultural relations, and elevate them on a higher level.

Dear comrades, we are here among you for only a few days. But even this is enough to sense the fighting spirit of the Angolan people and their striving and determination to defend its freedom, defend its independence and construct the socialist society.

Happy and satisfied with our meetings and talks, I would like to propose a toast:

To the fraternal cooperation between the BCP and the MPLA Labour Party!

To the successes and progress of the People's Republic of Angola!

To Comrade Agostinho Neto, the great patriot and internationalist, the glorious leader of the MPLA and the People's Republic of Angola!

To the friendship and cooperation between our two peoples!

To the friendship among all peoples of the fraternal socialist countries! Cheers!

Zhivkov Departs Angola for Mozambique

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 22 Oct 78 AU

[Special correspondent Boyan Traykov report--read by announcer]

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman departed from Luanda after being seen off with exceptional cordiality and festiveness. He was seen off by Agostinho Neto MPLA Labour Party chairman and president of the People's Republic of Angola, and other party and state leaders.

At the invitation of Samora Machel, FRELIMO chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Comrade Todor Zhivkov will pay Mozambique an official and friendly visit.

BULGARIA

# ZHIVKOV ARRIVES IN MOZAMBIQUE

Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Oct 78 AU

[Special correspondent Boyan Traykov report--read by announcer]

[Excerpts] Comrade Todor Zhivkov flew another 4,000 km today along the way of friendship. The excitement of the great Angolan achievements, the friendship between the Bulgarian and Angolan peoples and the happy feeling of sincere friendship with Agostinho Neto, Angola's president—all these blended with the excitement and happiness caused by the fraternal greetings by Samora Machel, FRELIMO chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Thousands of Maputo citizens greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov with flags, flowers and exclamations of: Long live Todor Zhivkov, long live Bulgaria. Happiness and pride engulfed all of us when we saw the love and respect shown to Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Thus started 4 days of fraternal meetings between Todor Zhivkov and Samora Machel, 4 days of labor for new achievements of Bulgarian-Mozambique friendship, which connects European and African socialism.

At this moment Samora Machel, FRELIMO chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, is giving a festive dinner in honor of Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman. We are all expecting the toasts of comrades Todor Zhivkov and Samora Machel from which we expect to learn about the future achievements of Bulgarian-Mozambique friendship and cooperation.

BULGARIA

#### BULGARIAN-MOZAMBIQUE FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION TREATY RELEASED

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Oct 78 pp 1, 2 AU

[Apparent text of Bulgarian-Mozambique Friendship and Cooperation Treaty signed in Maputo on 25 October 1978]

[Text] The People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Mozambique, basing themselves upon the existing fraternal friendship and cooperation between their parties and peoples, a friendship and cooperation developed in the hard struggle for the national liberation of Mozambique and based upon Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism,

Being resolved to cooperate in mutually consolidating the revolutionary and socioeconomic achievements of their two peoples and in creating the most favorable international prerequisites for the construction of socialism,

Being in solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, and being resolved to strengthen the worldwide anti-imperialist front,

Being fully resolved to contribute to the consolidation of international peace and security in the interest of all peoples in the world,

To willingly develop the unity and cooperation of all progressive forces fighting for independence, freedom, peace and social progress,

Confirming their loyalty to the goals and principles of the UN Charter,

Willing to intensify the existing relations of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation between their two peoples and countries, which are natural allies,

Have decided to sign this friendship and cooperation treaty and have agreed upon the following items:

#### Article 1

The two high contracting countries solemnly declare their resolve to strengthen and expand friendship between their two countries and peoples, to cooperate in preserving and expanding their peoples' socioeconomic achievements and to develop bilateral and mutually advantageous cooperation in the political, economic, trade, scientific-technical and cultural, as well as other sectors on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and noninterference in domestic affairs, as well as on the basis of equal rights.

#### Article 2

The high contracting countries will actively work on expanding cooperation and direct contacts between the political and social organizations, between cultural and scientific institutions for the purpose of becoming better acquainted with the life, work and achievements of the two countries.

#### Article 3

The two high contracting countries will expand and intensify mutually advantageous cooperation and exchange experience in the field of agriculture, fishing, industry, transportation and communications, as well as in the training of cadres and in other sectors.

The two sides will expand cooperation in the trade sector on the basis of the principles of equal rights, mutual advantage and on the basis of the most-favored-nation clause.

#### Article 4

The high contracting countries will contribute to the further mutual development of relations of friendship and cooperation in the sectors of science, technology, arts, literature, education, health protection, press, radio, tourism, cinematography, sports, and others.

#### Article 5

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, which is a socialist state, and the People's Republic of Mozambique, which is a people's democratic state, are conducting a policy of peace which pursues the goal of consolidating friendship and cooperation among all peoples.

#### Article 6

In the interest of strengthening the defensive power of the two high contracting countries, they will develop their cooperation in the military sector through bilateral agreements.

#### Article 7

The two high contracting countries will continue to contribute to the struggle for peace throughout the world, they will devote efforts to the intensification of the process of international detente and to its transformation into an irreversible process for the purpose of settling international problems by peaceful means, for the purpose of achieving full and universal disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, and for the purpose of abolishing war from the peoples' lives.

#### rticle 8

The two high contracting countries will continue to conduct their consistent struggle against the forces of imperialism, for the definite liquidation of fascism, colonialism and neocolonialism, racism and apartheid. They declare themselves in favor of the total application of the UN Declaration on granting independence to the countries and peoples subjected to colonial domination.

The two sides will support the just struggle of the peoples for freedom, national independence, social progress and in order to achieve this goal they will cooperate, not only with each other, but also with the other peace-loving states.

#### Article 9

The two high contracting countries, willing to insure international peace and security and attaching great importance to mutual cooperation, will regularly exchange views on problems of important international significance, including questions of a political, economic and cultural character, as well as other questions.

## Article 10

In case of situations which are threatening or disturbing peace, the two high contracting countries will immediately establish contacts for the purpose of coordinating their positions and interests in connection with eliminating the threat that has appeared, to the advantage of establishing peace.

#### Article 11

Each of the two high contracting countries solemnly declares that it will not participate in any military or other alliances, in any kind of blocs of states and in any kind of initiatives and measures directed against the other of the two high contracting countries.

#### Article 12

The two high contracting countries declare that their commitments regarding international agreements in force are not in contraction to the stipulations of this treaty, and they commit themselves not to sign any international treaty whatsoever that might be incompatible with the present treaty.

#### Article 13

The questions which may arise between the two high contracting countries regarding the interpretation or application of any stipulation of this treaty will be resolved on a bilateral basis and in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding.

#### Article 14

This treaty is subject to ratification and will become valid on the day of the exchange of ratification documents, which will take place in Sofia.

#### Article 15

This treaty is signed for a period of 20 years and will automatically be prolonged for the following 5 years if one of the high contracting countries does not express its intention, in writing, to cancel it 1 year before the respective term has elapsed.

Signed: For the People's Republic of Mozambique: Samora Moises Machel, FRELIMO chairman and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

For the People's Republic of Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee First Secretary and State Council chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

BULGARIA

# ZHIVKOV TOASTS MENGISTU AT 25 OCTOBER FESTIVE DINNER

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Oct 78 p 7 AU

[Apparent text of toast by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee First Secretary and chairman of Bulgaria's State Council, at 25 October official dinner in Addis Ababa, given in his honor by Lt Col Haile Mariam Mengistu, chairman of the Ethiopian Provisional Military Administrative Council]

[Text] Dear Comrade Haile Mariam Mengistu, dear Ethiopian comrades, friends, I am glad that the visit of the Bulgarian party-state delegation in your country affords us the opportunity to convey to you, Comrade Haile Mariam Mengistu, and to the entire fighting Ethiopian people the warm and fraternal greetings of the Bulgarian people, the BCP Central Committee, and the State Council and government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

I thank you most cordially for the invitation to visit Socialist Ethiopia. You thus afforded us the opportunity to get acquainted not only with the beauty and culture of your ancient country but first of all with the revolutionary achievements of the freedom loving and now free Ethiopian people.

The emperor's regime seemed unshakable to the outside world, and thus Ethiopia's future seemed dramatically predetermined. However you, the real Ethiopian revolutionaries, erased this regime from the political life and united your tortured people under the proud slogan "revolutionary motherland—or death!" Then you led your people into a stormy attack against all remnants of feudalism and capitalism in your country, released its creative energy and started the construction of your new and independent motherland, building the strong foundations of the transition towards socialism.

The Ethiopian national democratic revolution is continuing its victorious march. You implemented the agrarian reform, nationalized the private banks, the major industrial plants, and the big property, created working codes and prepared to construct a vanguard Marxist-Leninist party of the workers' class and the peasants—and all this within a very short period of time.

After suffering a devastating defeat in their attempts to suffocate your revolution by armed force, imperialism and world reaction are now striving to destroy the Ethiopian unity and are relying upon fanning conflicts on a nationalistic basis. In addition, they see in Socialist Ethiopia an infectious example for the other African peoples. However, you are steadily marching along the road of constructing the new society of social justice and equality, a road which has been set by the national-democratic revolution. You are progressing in close cooperation with the USSR, our people and party, and the other socialist community's states.

We greet the consistent successes of the Provisional Military Administrative Council in preserving the unity of Socialist Ethiopia as the common mother—land of all working people and all its sons and daughters, fighting for democracy and socialism.

Recent events are alarming: imperialism has not reconciled with its defeat and continues to be the main enemy of the African peoples. Imperialism is trying to regain its lost positions, resorts to overt military intervention, uses terror and political murders, puts together military blocs, kindles and fans national animosities and sets people against people.

Our country is categorically against all plots of interfering in internal affairs and against all attempts, regardless of their source, to suffocate the struggle of the African peoples—a struggle for national and economic independence, democracy and social progress.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria decisively condemns the policy of the present Chinese leadership, a policy aimed against the national liberation movements in Africa and Asia, and condemns its slanderous campaign against the USSR, the socialist countries and the world progressive forces.

We are following with tense attention and deep concern the region in which your country is situated. The intrigues of the neocolonialists and reaction caused conflicts in the Horn of Africa. The attempts against Ethiopia's territorial integrity are a rude violation of the generally recognized norms of international justice, as well as the UN and OAU Charters.

We are concerned with the situation in the Middle East. The separate deals, which are a direct service to the aggressor, complicate and exacerbate the problems in this part of the world and prevent the comprehensive, lasting and just solution of the conflict.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria in accord with the other socialist countries, is constantly pursuing an active policy of consolidating the peaceful coexistence in the Balkans, Europe and the world, and detente in the political and military area. We support the USSR creative proposals on stopping the production of weapons of mass destruction and gradually eliminating the stored reserves, banning the production of the neutron bomb and starting real acts in the area of disarmament. This is the key problem of our time! It is on it that the further achievements of our

peoples and the peoples fighting for national and social liberation depend. It is on it that peace, progress and the destiny of whole mankind depend.

Stemming from the principles of peace and cooperation and the peoples' right to independently choose their way, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is cooperating for developing the world revolutionary process. Loyal to our international duty we are morally and materially supporting and assisting the African peoples, fighting for national independence and social liberation. In this context, the development of our friendship and cooperation with Socialist Ethiopia are following an ascending line. Our talks during our first meeting with you, Comrade Haile Mariam Mengistu, which took place last year in Sofia, are exceptionally contributing to this development.

We assure you that in the future we shall also do everything necessary for expanding the political, economic and cultural relations between our two peoples, so that they grow deep and fruitful roots. Your cause is especially dear to us, and we will further render fraternal assistance to the Ethiopian national democratic revolution.

It is a special pleasure to propose a toast:

To the present and future successes of the Ethiopian revolution!

To the friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Socialist Ethiopia!

To the health and happiness of our highly respected host Lt Col Haile Mariam Mengistu, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and chairman of Socialist Ethiopia's Council of Ministers!

To the health of all comrades attending the dinner!

Cheers!

BULGARIA

# REPORTS ON ZHIVKOV'S OFFICIAL VISIT TO NIGERIA

# Zhivkov Toasts Obasanjo

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Oct 78 p 7 AU

[Apparent text of toast by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, at 18 October dinner given in his honor in Lagos by Lt Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigerian head of state and commander in chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces]

[Text] Your excellency Lt Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, ministers, ladies and gentlemen, first of all and because of my deep inner conviction, let me express my cordial gratitude for the invitation to visit your motherland, extended to me by Lt Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, leader of the military federal government and commander in chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces. Let me also express my thanks for the attention and warm hospitality rendered to me and my friends, and through us to our motherland, the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Today the Bulgarian people--long suffering, peace-loving but now free--greet the Nigerian people--another people which has suffered, loves peace and is now free.

I am glad to subscribe to the evaluation of the relations between our two countries which you have expressed.

The progress in developing Bulgarian-Nigerian relations has been fruitful in recent years. Political contacts are expanding, our trade exchange is developing and our economic and scientific-technical cooperation and cultural cooperation are strengthening. Our presence here is yet another expression and a wonderful manifestation of the friendly feelings, understanding and mutual relations between our countries and peoples.

I can note with satisfaction that our talks with Lieutenant General Oba-sanjo, leader of the military federal government, are constructive and business like, and are taking place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. They

once again confirm the willingness of the two countries, as well as their readiness and good will to further develop and strengthen bilateral and mutually beneficial cooperation in varous areas. This is completely natural because opportunities enjoyed by the People's Republic of Bulgaria and Nigeria in this regard [are] constantly growing. This is because we already know each other well, because we have accumulated positive experience in the process of our cooperation up to now and because the personal meetings and exchanges of opinions between the state leaders have brought about a most favorable influence in this direction.

It is true that our states are located in geographical areas far removed from one another and on different continents, but it is also true that our peoples have common characteristics in their historic destinies.

Having experienced humiliation, suffering, and the political and spiritual oppression of foreign dominance, but having also tasted the sublime happiness of achieving freedom, the Bulgarian and Nigerian peoples do not only understand each other well, but also most sincerely sympathize with all peoples on the planet who are conducting their difficult but just struggle for national independence. Thus the Bulgarian and Nigerian peoples can declare: Yes, we are against colonialism, against all forms of national and racial oppression, and against national and racial exploitation.

Your excellency, only 1 month ago modern Bulgaria marked the 34th anniversary of the beginning of its socialist development and in 3 years will celebrate the 1,300th anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian state. Thirty-four years are a very short period when compared with a 1,300-year-long history. But it is namely in these 34 years that under the conditions of freedom, socialism and peace that Bulgaria became rejuvenated and changed. Today it has one of the leading places in the world with respect to the pace of its economic development, cultural and educational development and care for human well-being. Now our working people are engaged in their current great assignment—the construction of the mature socialist society. How did we achieve these successes? We have achieved them mainly thanks to the great constructive energy of the Bulgarian people and their inspired work, consciousness and selfnessness.

I am pleased to note that the Bulgarian people are following with vital and friendly interest the efforts of your government and your people to construct a united, modern, strong and prospering Nigeria. When you fought o preserve your country's unity, our compassion and sympathy were with you. The People's Republic of Bulgaria was among the first states to recognize the independent Federal Republic of Nigeria.

We are convinced that you will successfully implement the great and responsible instructions of the third plan for economic development. A central place in your projects is dedicated to expanding the social sector in your economy. There is no doubt that this task will have an exceptional

importance for the upsurge of your economy, for increasing the people's standard of living, and consolidating Nigeria's authority as one of the leading states on the African continent. This will show Nigeria as being the hope, example and assistant of the peoples fighting against the attempts of imperialism and neocolonialism, for freedom, independence and a better world.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria, which passed through difficulties in its socioeconomic development, rejoices at your creative efforts. We are ready to cooperate, to impart our experience on a broad and creative basis in all areas of life and on all levels. We do not hide the "secrets" of our achievements, but with an open heart we offer them to the friendly peoples.

Your excellency, we highly value the principled stand of the Federal Republic of Nigeria in supporting the struggle of those fighting for national liberation. We value your support of the peoples of Zimbabwe, as well as of the fighters against racism and the infamous apartheid in South Africa.

Our position is clear, and it is incorporated in firm convictions and concrete deeds.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is for:

- --Fully implementing the UN Resolution on Decolonization!
- -- Removing the last remnants of colonialism and racism in the African south!
- -- Implementing the right of the people of Zimbabwe to govern its own destiny!
- --Giving Namibia full and formal independence!
- --We are with the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid, and for the right of the majority to tule its country!

Together with the other socialist countries we fully and actively support the African peoples in their struggle for national liberation and independence. Our assistance is not attached to any egoistic aims, as our common enemies are trying to slander. Our assistance springs from the principles of mutual conviction and from our consciousness of our international duty and international solidarity in the cause of humanism, democracy and progress!

We highly value also the international authority of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as well as its active and constructive role in the United Nations, the OAU, and the nonalined countries movement. We rejoice at your worthy contribution to developing and uniting the democratic and patriotic forces on the African continent against the traitors of colonialism and for hindering the imperialist and neocolonialist attempts and machinations.

At the conference of the heads of states which took place in Khartoum in July of this year, Lieutenant General Obasanjo uttered words that were inspired, not only by national pride but also by political farsightedness: "The paratroopers of the 20th century are as unacceptable to us as the gunners of the previous century were for our forefathers."

I can assure you that these supreme convictions, firm positions and strivings of the Nigerian leaders have our full understanding, sympathy and support.

We believe in common with you that the main condition of constructing the people's material well-being and spiritual progress are peace and the removing of the dangers of nuclear and neutron death, as well as full and general disarmament. Together with the other countries of the socialist community, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making its contribution to a just and lasting solution of the disputed situations and questions, for turning the principles of peaceful mutual existence into a norm in relations between states with different social systems and for turning detente into an irreversible process!

The coincidence and proximity of our opinions on the main problems of the contemporary world—detente, reducing arms and armed forces, international security, our common irreconcilability with any manifestation or form of foreign oppression and our efforts for the prosperity of our peoples—are a positive, blessed and hopeful basis for further activating and strengthening cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Nigeria in the international arena.

## I propose a toast:

To the friendship and strengthening of the fruitful cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Nigeria!

To a full victory over colonialism, neocolonialism and racism!

To friendship and peace among peoples!

To the health of Lieutenant General Obasanjo, leader of the military federal government and commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria!

To new successes of the Nigerian people and its well-being!

Cheers!

# Communique on Zhivkov's Visit

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Oct 78 pp 1, 7 AU

[Apparent text of communique on the official visit by Todor Zhivkov, Bul-garian People's Republic State Council chairman to Nigeria from 16-19 October 1978, signed on 19 October 1978 in Lagos]

[Text] At the invitation of His Excellency Lt Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, leader of the federal military government and commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, His Excellency Mr Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, paid a 4-day official visit to Nigeria from 16-19 October 1978.

During the visit the two state leaders held official talks which proceeded in an atmosphere of sincere friendship and cordiality and in a spirit of full understanding and mutual respect. The two state leaders briefed each other on current problems of their countries' domestic and foreign policy and made an all-round review of their bilateral relations. The two heads of state noted with satisfaction the present state of friendly relations existing between the two countries and expressed their readiness to expand and consolidate the areas of cooperation between their countries and peoples.

For this purpose a principled agreement was reached to hold periodic consultations between the two countries on important bilateral and international questions of mutual interest. The forms of these consultations will be determined in detail later.

Lt Gen Olusegun Obasanjo, leader of the federal military government, expressed his admiration for the accelerated economic and social progress achieved by the People's Republic of Bulgaria and expressed his high appreciation for the consistent constructive and peace-loving foreign policy of the Bulgarian Government, in particular for the government's efforts to support and consolidate the policy of good-neighborly relations among the Balkan states on the basis of mutual respect, good will and noninterference in domestic affairs.

He noted with great satisfaction not only the contribution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the cause of peace, security and cooperation in Europe, but at the same time the assistance and support to the liberation movements, in particular in Africa, and Bulgaria's constant support for the right of self-determination for oppressed peoples.

His Excellency Mr Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council, expressed his admiration for the efforts of the federal military government in connection with insuring conditions for a dynamic socioeconomic development and for the building of a strong, united and independent Nigeria.

He also stressed with great satisfaction the important contribution of Nigeria in the African peoples' struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, racism and apartheid, as well as Nigeria's constructive role in the OAU, the United Nations and in the nonalined countries movement for the preservation of peace, cooperation and understanding among peoples. The two state leaders welcomed the signing of an agreement on economic and scientific-technical cooperation in May 1978 and the coordinated memoranda between the two governments; they noted with satisfaction that measures have already been taken to implement these documents. These documents pertain to cooperation in the sectors of designing and planning urban projects, projects in the sectors of agriculture, health, geological prospecting and mining, transportation, maritime transport, tourism and education. In this connection the two leaders agreed that the respective government departments, economic organizations and firms should work for a more accelerated implementation of the proposals made during the visit and of the above-mentioned documents. The two leaders also think it is necessary to devote particular attention to cooperation in the agricultural sector and in construction. They agreed that the respective organs should discuss programs of action in these two fields, which should be reviewed at the constituting session of the joint committee to be held in Lagos after the necessary preparatory work, as soon as possible, by 1979.

The two heads of state noted with satisfaction the level of cooperation attained in the fields of science, education and culture.

The two leaders reviewed the identity of views on the main international problems, they confirmed their readiness to struggle for the maintainance of international peace and security and their strong belief in the principles of the UN Charter. They appealed to all UN members to contribute actively to this cause and to increase the UN's opportunities for settling the important problems faced by the world.

The two heads of state confirmed their conviction that relations among peoples must be based on the strict observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity, equal rights, and non-interference in domestic affairs, as well as on the observance of the principle of renunciation of the use of force in settling international controversies.

The two heads of state noted the important role played by the developing countries in their efforts to achieve an agreement on just international economic relations. They noted with regret that the result of the present negotiations on international economic relations fall far short of the goals set, and they agreed to cooperate in future efforts to take efficient measures within the UN system for the accelerated establishment of just international economic relations.

As regards African problems, the two heads of state once more confirmed their wholehearted support for the definite eradication of racism, imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism and of their manifestations in all parts of this continent. In this connection the two leaders declared their full support for the just struggle of the heroic people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front for independence and free democratic development. They expressed their conviction that the so-called "internal settlement" is a farce, aimed above all at making the illegal character of the regime acceptable to the outside world.

The two heads of state expressed their disappointment at the hypocritical role played by certain countries which declare themselves in favor of the principles of freedom and equality of all peoples in Zimbabwe, but through deeds support the illegal regime. They also agreed that without this clandestine support rendered by these countries to the Zimbabwe regime, in flagrant violation of UN sanctions, the illegal regime of Ian Smith would have been overthrown a long time ago.

As to the question of Namibia, the two heads of state condemned the intentions of the racist regime of the South African Republic to hold one-sided, illegal elections in Namibia, thus grossly violating UN decisions. The two leaders consider these actions as an attempt by the racist regime to foil the efforts of the UN General Assembly for granting immediate independence to this territory. The two heads of state once more confirmed their support for SWAPO as the only true representative of the people of Namibia. They expressed their satisfaction at SWAPO being accepted as a full-fledged member of the nonalined countries movement.

The chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria State Council and the leader of the federal military government reviewed the situation in the South African Republic and resolutely condemned the system of racial oppression, apartheid, and the fact that the majority of the African population in that country is deprived of freedom, independence and human dignity. They once more declared their support for the just struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa.

The two sides resolutely rejected the attempts by the South African Republic to exercise nuclear blackmail, and they consider this as an exceptionally serious threat against universal peace. In this connection they expressed their support for the appeal of the United Nations to declare the African continent a zone free of nuclear weapons.

The two sides also condemn the aggressive actions of the racist regimes of the South African Republic and of Rhodesia against the independent African neighbor states and insist upon the immediate stopping of such attempts.

As regards the situation in the Horn of Africa, the two sides support the principles of inviolability of existing borders and observance of the

territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states existing in that area. It was confirmed that all unresolved problems must be settled through negotiations among the interested countries. The two heads of state denounced the recent provocative military interventions in Africa carried out by the forces of imperialism.

The two state leaders resolutely reject attempts to create so-called "inter-African armed forces" which are to be directed from outside the continent for the purpose of defending the economic, political and military interests of the international monopolies.

As to the question of the Middle East, the two heads of state appealed for lasting peace in that area on the basis of resolution number 242 of the UN General Assembly.

They also expressed their firm conviction that the establishment of a lasting peace in that area, a peace acceptable to all, depends on the implementation of certain basic prerequisites, namely: full withdrawal by Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, recognition of the national rights of the people of Palestine and recognition of the right of existence for all countries in that area.

The two sides called for a peaceful settlement of the Indochina conflict on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states existing in that area, without any interference from abroad whatsoever. The two state leaders expressed their satisfaction over the movement of nonalined countries and noted that this movement plays an important role in world policy, in particular in the struggle against imperialism and aggression, racism and colonialism, as well as in the struggle for the establishment of just economic relations.

The two sides agreed that the alleviation of tension creates the most favorable prerequisites for the preservation of universal peace, for economic and social progress. They denounce the attempts of certain forces to threaten this alleviation of tension.

The two leaders also expressed their views that the Special UN General Assembly Session on Disarmament represents an important step toward convening an universal disarmament conference. They agreed that the process of detente and the consolidation of security and mutual trust among states will be considerably assisted by signing a universal agreement on the nonuse of force in relations among states.

The two heads of state agreed that the CSCE is of historic importance, and they stressed the necessity of applying in practice the principles contained in the Final Document of the Helsinki Conference, as well as the necessity of accelerating the process of cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural sectors.

His Excellency Todor Zhivkov, the chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria State Council, in addition to Lagos, visited the city of Ilorin in Kuara State and expressed his gratitude for the warm reception offered him and to those accompanying him, as well as at the cooperation and hospitality offered by the Nigerians to Bulgarians working in that country.

His Excellency Mr Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, expressed his satisfaction at the results of his visit to Nigeria and invited the head of state of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to visit Bulgaria at a time convenient for him.

The head of state of Federal Republic of Nigeria accepted the invitation with gratitude. The date of the visit will be set between the two countries at a later time.

The chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was accompanied by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Peko Takov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Dimitur Stanishev, deputy to the National Assembly and member of the Permanent Committee on Foreign Affairs; Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Ivan Sakarev, minister of construction and building materials and chairman of the Bulgarian side of the Bulgarian-Nigerian Intergovernmental Joint Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation; Vasil Tsanov, first deputy minister of agriculture and food industry; Milko Balev, chief of the State Council chairman's cabinet, and Georgi Bozhkov, Bulgaria's ambassador to Nigeria.

The leader of the federal military government and commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria was accompanied by the following officials: Maj Gen H. O. Adefope, federal commissioner of external affairs; Dr R. A. Adermi, federal commissioner of industries; B. Mafeni, federal commissioner of agriculture and water resources; Prof I. O. (Ossiuogu), federal commissioner of trade; Dr O. Adeqoye, federal commissioner of economic development; Ambassador G. O. Idzhevere, director of the Department for International Economic Cooperation at the federal affairs commissioner's office; Ambassador J. (Sokoya), director of the European Department of the federal external affairs commissioner's office; E. (Obayan), secretary of financial and administrative questions at the economic development commissioner's office, and S. (Nuokodi), chief secretary of the federal commissioner's office for economic development.

Signed by: Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, for the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Olusegun Obasanjo, leader of the federal military government and commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

BULGARIA

#### BRIEFS

VULKO KOCHEV DIES--Vulko Kochev, member of the BCP Central Committee Central Auditing Committee and deputy chairman of the Committee on Solidarity with Afro-Asian Peoples, has died. Comrades Ognyan Doynov and Georgi Yordanov were among the honorary guard at the coffin. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Oct 78 AU]

MIKHAYLOV'S ACTIVITIES REPORTED--Army General Ivan Mikhaylov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, on 10 October took part in the festive opening of the political education academic year in Mikhaylovgrad. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Oct 78 AU]

MISHEV'S ACTIVITIES REPORTED--Miso Mishev, BCP Central Committee Secretariat member and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council, attended the festive opening of the political education academic year in Vratsa on 10 October. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 10 Oct 78 AU]

YORDANOV AT SCHOOL YEAR'S OPENING—A celebration marking the opening of the new 1978-1979 party school year was held at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia today. Georgi Yordanov, first secretary of the Sofia City Party Committee and BCP Central Committee Secretariat member, read a report. He also presented orders and medals to 42 propagandists of the Sofia City Party organizations who distinguished themselves in their work. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 13 Oct 78 AU]

SHIP FOR SOVIET UNION--The workers of the shipway in Ruse had completed and delivered ahead of the time schedule a 1,500-ton bunker ship for the Soviet Union. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1803 GMT 13 Oct 78 AU]

TRICHKOV TO VIETNAM--Krustyu Trichkov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate-member and Council of Ministers' deputy chairman, left for Vietnam yesterday. He is representing the Bulgarian side at the Joint Bulgarian-Vietnamese Intergovernmental Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. He will participate in the seventh session of this committee. Among those seeing Comrade Trichkov off at Sofia Airport were Academician Radoy Popivanov, minister of National Health; Le Quang Hiep, Ambassador of

Vietnam to Bulgaria; and Nikolay Sisoyev, counselor at the USSR Embassy in Sofia. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Oct 78 p 2 AU]

INTERNATIONAL TECHNICAL CONFERENCE—An international conference on machine building and metal cutting machines opened in Varna. It is attended by approximately 250 scientists and technical experts from Bulgaria, Great Britain, the GDR, (?Egypt), Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary and other countries, who will discuss throughout 3 days the problems of innovations and new methods in the production of metal cutting machines. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 13 Oct 78]

SOCIAL MEDICAL CONFERENCE--The 2d conference on radiobiological problems organized by the socialist countries has ended in the International Hotel in the Golden Sands Resort near Varna. Specialists of the Soviet Union, the GDR, the CSSR, Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria discussed the problems connected with the practical use of nuclear energy in space medicine. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 14 Oct 78 AU]

BULGARIAN PATRIARCH RETURNS HOME--Bulgarian Patriarch Maksim today returned home from his visit to the United States and Canada. He also had talks with UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim in New York. At Sofia Airport Patriarch Maksim was welcomed by Zhivkov Popov, deputy foreign minister; members of the Committee for Church Problems and of the Slavonik Committee. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 14 Oct 78 AU]

DELEGATION TO CYPRUS--A delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council led by central council's chairman, Misho Mishev, left for Cyprus tonight. The delegation will attend a session of the WFTU bureau's session. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 14 Oct 78 AU]

BONEV RECEIVES CUBAN VISITOR—Vladimir Bonev, chairman of the National Assembly, yesterday received adelegation of the the Havana City People's Council, led by Luis Mendez Morejon, deputy chairman of the council and National Assembly deputy of Cuba. The visitor was acquainted with the National Assembly's activity and with its comprehensive participation in the socioeconomic development of the country. Cuban ambassador to Bulgaria, Jose Manuel Alvarez, also attended the talks. [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 OCT 78 p 2 AU]

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM IN SMOLYAN--The international symposium on legal and information problems in management ended in Smolyan yesterday. Eminent scientists--jurists of the GDR, Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czecho-slovakia and Bulgaria attended the symposium. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Oct 78 p 6 AU]

CEMA CONFERENCE IN VARNA--A CEMA member countries conference on specialization and cooperation in the production of turbines, turbogenerators and large electric machines has begun in Varna. Delegates of Hungary, the GDR, Poland, the CSSR, the USSR, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria attended the session. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1430 GMT 11 Oct 78 AU]

DRAGOYCHEVA AT CELEBRATION--The 120th birth anniversary of Vela Blagoeva, founder of Bulgaria's woman socialist movement was marked at celebration in Sofia today. Tsola Dragoycheva, BCP Central Committee Politburo member, attended the celebration. Elena Lagadinova, chairman of the Bulgarian Women Committee and State Council member, delivered a speech. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 11 Oct 78 AU]

LEADERS ATTEND SCHOOL CEREMONIES—The new party school year has been festive—ly opened in Kurdzhali. Drazha Vulcheva, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national education, delivered a speech at an appropriate ceremony. Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council, who attended the opening of the new party school year in Shumen also delivered a speech. Nacho Papazov, member of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat and chairman of the All-National Committee for Bulgarian—Soviet Friendship, delivered a speech at a ceremony marking the opening of the new party school year in Burgas. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 11 Oct 78 AU]

EAST GERMANY

## GDR DEFENSE MINISTER ADDRESSES COMMANDERS MEETING

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Oct 78 p 2 AU

[ADN dispatch from Berlin: "National People's Army Members Honorably Fulfill the Military Class Assignments: Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann spoke at Commanders' Conference—Achievements in Competition Evaluated"]

[Text] The members and civil employees of the National People's Army have honorably fulfilled the military class assignment of the Ninth SED Congress in the 1977-1978 training year. The fighting strength and combat-readiness of the troops and naval forces were enhanced. This was stressed on Wednesday [25 October] by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and minister of national defense, at a commanders' conference in the Defense Ministry.

By their achievements the people's soldiers proved that they are at all times ready and capable of defending their socialist fatherland at the side of the Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies. Thanks to the great achievements and creative initiatives which have already been displayed in long-term preparations for the 30th GDR Jubilee, the military collectives, jointly with the working people in industry, agriculture and all other social spheres, contributed to the comprehensive strengthening of the republic. The border troops and the GDR's civil defense also have fulfilled the tasks set for them in the now completed training year. For this he thanked all members of the National People's Army, the border troops and civil defense as well as the party, FDJ and trade union organizations.

Army General Hoffmann noted: "However, all pleasure concerning the successes of socialism must not impair our vision concerning the fact that the class enemy does not want to put up with our gains and is constantly launching attacks, primarily on the ideological front, and that the international class struggle has recently intensified." The consequence of this is for the socialist military men to be extremely vigilant vis-a-vis all political and military activities of imperialism, he said.

"Therefore, further enhancing the combat-readiness of the command organs, troops and naval forces as well as their ability to protect dependably the interests of our socialist GDR and of all participant states of the Warsaw Pact remains our primary task also in the new training year," he pointed out. In the 30th year of the worker-peasant power we shall do everything in our power to insure that peace is made ever more secure and to insure that socialism remains more and more invincible. Proven forms and methods of political and military activity as well as new ones should be aimed at bringing about a further upsurge in all fields. Particular importance thereby attaches to the example of the communists, to patriotic and internationalist education as well as to the further deepening of the comradeship of arms, particularly with the Soviet Union.

On the same day the outstanding results of the "Soldiers Avowal 78" socialist competition were evaluated at the festive meeting of the collegium of the Defense Ministry. At the order of the national defense minister, Col Gen Heinz Kessler, deputy defense minister and chief of the main staff of the National People's Army, presented the National People's Army medal of Merits to "best collectives." These include units of all National People's Army branches, including motorized rifle and tank companies, innovators' collectives as well as the initiators of competition from the "Tangermuende" mine searching and sweeping vessel, of the civil employees collective of tank maintenance of the hunger troop unit and of the reservists' collective of the Schwedt Petrochemical VEB Combine.

Colonel General Kessler expressed the conviction that the army members, civil employees and reservists, in form affinity with the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, will make a worthy contribution to strengthening socialist national defense in the "Salute GDR 30 for our socialist fatherland--vigilant and combat-ready" competition.

EAST GERMANY

#### NATIONAL DEFENSE LAW PUBLISHED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Oct 78 p 4 AU

["Law on the National Defense of the GDR (defense law) of 13 October 1978"]

[Text] The GDR, in close alliance with the USSR and the other states of the socialist community as well as in agreement with all the peace-loving forces in the world, pursues the objective of finally banning war from the people's lives, of consolidating peace and security in Europe and throughout the entire world and of protecting them against any plots, of halting the arms race and of bringing about the general and complete disarmament.

Protecting peace and the socialist gains of the people as well as safeguarding the inviolability of the state borders, including the airspace and territorial waters, the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the GDR and of all states of the socialist community require that the GDR organizes national defense. For this purpose the People's Chamber adopts the following law on the basis and in implementation of the GDR Constitution, particularly of Article 7, 23, paragraphs 1, 52 and 73:

First chapter: Basic Provisions on the GDR's National Defense

### Section 1. Foundations of National Defense

- (1) The GDR's national defense is based on the political power exercised by the workers class, a power which it implements under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party in alliance with the class of cooperative peasants, the intelligentsia and with the other working people.
- (2) The GDR's national defense has its firm basis in the socialist state and societal system, in its growing political and economic strength as well as in the political awareness of the citizens and in their readiness to protect and defend the socialist achievements. The defense preparedness is being safeguarded by the necessary measures being taken in all fields of state, economic and social life while comprehensively utilizing the advantages and motive powers of the socialist society in the GDR.

(3) The GDR's national defense is being conducted in keeping with the right to individual and collective self-defense according to Article 51 of the UN Charter, the Warsaw Pact of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 14 May 1955 based on it, as well as in keeping with the treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the USSR and other states of the socialist community. The close comradeship of arms between the National People's Army and the armies of the Soviet Union and of other socialist states constitutes a basic prerequisite for the strength of national defense of the GDR, a comradeship which is based on the principles of socialist internationalism.

## Section 2. Direction of National Defense

- (1) The GDR National Defense Council, on the basis and in implementation of the laws and decisions of the People's Chamber as well as of the decisions of the State Council, is charged with the central direction of defense and security measures. It safeguards national defense in cooperation with the other state organs and lays down the stipulations required for this purpose which are binding on all state and economic management organs, combines, enterprises, institutions, cooperatives, social organizations, associations and citizens. It issues legal rules for this in the form of instructions and decisions.
- (2) The National Defense Council consists of its chairman and a minimum of 12 members.
- (3) The Council of Ministers organizes the implementation of the defense tasks assigned to it.
- (4) All state and economic management organs, combines, enterprises, institutions, cooperatives, social organizations and associations must prepare the defense tasks assigned to them by the competent organs and must fulfill them. Their leaders are personally responsible for the comprehensive fulfillment of the national defense tasks within the scope of their responsibility. In doing so they rely on the immediate participation of the citizens.

# Section 3. Services and Prestations of the Citizens for National Defense

- (1) Implementing their constitutionally stipulated right and honorable duty, the GDR citizens are performing military service for the protection of peace and the socialist fatherland and of its achievements in the National People's Army or the GDR Border Troops on the basis of the pertinent laws or other legal repulations. The National Defense Council determines what service in other organizations corresponds to the performing of active military service or military service in the reserves.
- (2) Beyond that the GDR citiznes are fulfilling their constitutional duty of providing services or prestations (Leistung) for national defense within the framework of this law and the legal provisions issued for its implementation.

(3) The state and economic management organs, combines, enterprises, institutions, cooperatives and social organizations must promote the readiness and capability of all citizens for the military protection of socialism and must adopt the required measures.

# Section 4. Mobilization and State of Defense

- (1) The National Defense Council decides on general or partial mobilization, if this is necessary, on the basis of any situation threatening the interest of national defense.
- (2) The People's Chamber decides on the state of defense of the GDR in the case of the danger of an immediately imminent attack on the GDR or in the case of an armed attack on the GDR, or in implementation of international alliance obligations. If it is impossible for the People's Chamber, on the basis of a given situation, to hold a session or to insure a quorum, the State Council decides on the state of defense (case of urgency). The proclamation of the state of defense by the State Council chairman is not tied to any particular form; it can be combined with required international law declarations.
- (3) In order to implement mobilization or the state of defense, the National Defense Council is authorized and dutybound, while exercising the powers and carrying out the tasks assigned to it, to adopt all the required measures for national defense and the protection of the socialist order, including such measures as may be at variance with the laws or other legal provisions. The GDR People's Chamber or the State Council will adopt at their next following sessions the required decisions on the activities of the National Defense Council.

Second Chapter: Civil Defense

# Section 5. Tasks and Direction of Civil Defense

- (1) The GDR's civil defense must organize the protection of the population, of the national economy, of the vital institutions and of the cultural assets from the consequences of military acts of aggression, particularly from the effects of means of mass destruction as well as catastrophes. It must safeguard the preparation and employment of forces for rescue, salvage and urgent maintenance work and must undertake those measures that serve the preservation of state, economic and social life.
- (2) Implementing the decisions of the National Defense Council, the Council of Ministers adopts all basic state measures of civil defense for the fulfillment of the tasks mentioned in Paragraph 1 and insures their implementation as a component part of state leadership and planning. The national defense minister directs the GDR's civil defense in keeping with the requirements of national defense through the head of the GDR's civil defense.

- (3) The ministers (except those of the armed organs), the leaders of the other central state organs, the chairmen of the local councils, the heads of the economic management organs, combines, enterprises and institutions as well as the chairmen of the cooperatives are the leaders of civil defense wihin their scope of responsibility. They must adopt all the required measures to organize civil defense on the basis of the legal rules and stipulations of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the minister of national defense or of the head of the GDR's civil defense and in doing so must insure the broad involvement of the social organizations and citizens.
- (4) The chairmen of the local councils in their capacity as heads of the civil defense of the territory concerned are entitled to issue instructions to and impose requirements on the heads of civil defense of the economic management organs, combines, enterprises institutions and cooperatives as well as on the citizens on the basis and in implementation of the legal rules and the stipulations of the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, the minister of national defense or the head of civil defense, for the uniform preparation and implementation of the tasks related to the civil defense on the territory concerned.

# Section 6. Cooperation of the Population

- (1) The GDR citizens and their social organizations and associations are entitled and dutybound to participate in preparing and implementing civil defense measures, including measures for the prevention and combating of catastrophes and for eliminating their consequence. This comprises the organizing of protective measures and participation in the training and exercises as well as in carrying out of rescue and aid measures.
- (2) Obligatory service can be introduced for the solving of civil defense tasks. Citizens who have completed their 16th year of age can be enlisted for compulsory service, that is, men up to their 65th year of age and women up to their 60th year of age.

Third Chapter: Economic Insuring and Further Measures for National Defense

Section 7. Tasks of the National Economy

- (1) The national economy must be managed and planned in such a manner as to economically insure national defense at all times.
- (2) The ministers and the heads of the other central state organs as well as the chairmen of the local councils must prepare the adjustment of the national economy to the requirements of the state of defense on the basis of centrally decreed stipulations and must carry out this adjustment at the pertinent instruction.

### Section 8. Deliveries and Prestations

- (1) The economic insuring of national defense is carried out on the basis of plans by means of deliveries and prestations for:
- a--Satisfying the needs of the National People's Army, of the other armed organs and of the GDR's civil defense,
- b--Safeguarding other measures important for defense, and
- c--Building reserves.
- (2) In a state of defense or at exercises for the verification of defense preparedness, the state and economic management organs, combines, enterprises, institutions and cooperatives also must supply prestations from the basic assets on the basis of planned receipts.
- a--The cession of movable objects, plots of land or buildings (objects) for temporary or permanent utilizaiton;
- b--The carrying out, abstention from, or permission for the alterations of objects;
- c--Abstention from the use of or exploitation of objects;
- d--The granting of accommodations; and
- 3--Prestations of labor of work collectives.
- (4) In the state of defense the prestations mentioned in paragraph 3 also can be required from social organizations and associations or from the citizens.
- Section 9. Preparation of Prestations

For the preparation of prestations under Section 8 Paragraph 3 the required information can be requested any time and conditions can be imposed so as to insure that the objects are in the requested condition in case of their transfer.

- Section 10. Requisitioning of Plots of Land and Buildings
- (1) State-owned plots of land or buildings which are required for national defense can be transferred to the Ministry of National Defense of other organs as a legal entity [rechtstraegerschaft].
- (2) Plots of land or buildings which are not owned by the state and are required for national defense must be purchased, as a matter of principle. If they can be purchased, they are to be transferred into people's property against compensation.

(3) With the requisitioning under Paragraph 1 or 2 and the entry of the change of legal status, all the rights of third persons entered in the land register are extinguished.

## Section 11. Personal Prestations of Labor

- (1) In the state of defense the arrangement of employment under labor legislation and work and wage conditions will be regulated in keeping with the requirements of national defense.
- (2) Every citizen fit to work can be required to perform personal labor services. This also applies for the prestation of labor services outside his place of residence.
- (3) If personal labor services in the state of defense require special knowledge, citizens can at any time be trained correspondingly and can also be enlisted for exercises outside their place of residence.

### Section 12. Territories With Special Regimes

- (1) In the interest of national defense, special regimes can be decreed within GDR territory for parts of the land, territorial waters or the airspace.
- (2) The access to, occupation of, and the entering and passage over areas under special regimes can be restricted or prohibited.
- Section 13. Measures for the Benefit of Allied Armed Forces
- Deliveries, prestations of other measures under this law also can take place for the benefit of the armed forces of the allied states.
- Section 14. Payment, Indemnification and Financing
- (1) Claims for payment or indemnification or financing for services and prestations under this law can only be leveled on the basis of the applicable legal rules.
- (2) Indemnification for damages that are caused by military actions during the state of defense will take place according to special arrangements.
- (3) Recourse to legal proceedings is barred for litigation on payment, indemnification or financing claims.

Fourth chapter: Final Provisions

Section 15.

The National Defense Council, the Council of Ministers or the heads of central state organs entrusted to them will issue the rules required for the implementation of this law.

Section 16. Validation

- (1) This law goes into effect on 1 November 1978.
- (2) Concurrently the following become invalid:

a--The law of 10 February 1960 on constructioning the GDR National Defense Council. (Law Register I, No 8, page 89);

b--The law of 20 September 1961 for the defense of the GDR (Defense Law) (Law Register I, No 18, p 175, Amendment No 19, p 180) in the version of the adjustment law of 11 June 1968 (Law Register I, No 15, p 242);

c--The law of 16 September 1970 on amending the law on the Constitution of the GDR National Defense Council (Law Register I, No 15, p 139);

d--The law of 16 September 1970 on civil defense in the GDR--Civil Defense Law--(Law Register I, No 20, p 289).

(3) The followup provisions issued for the implementation of the Defense Law of 20 September 1961 and to the Civil Defense Law of 16 September 1970 remain valid until new legal provisions are issued.

cso: 2300

EAST GERMANY

#### DISSIDENT STEFAN HEYM DISCUSSES DILEMMA OF GDR WRITERS

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 7 Aug 78 p 6

[Interview with Stefan Heym by Mikael Witte in East Berlin: "We May All Risk Bahro's Fate -- Interview With East German System Critic Author Stefan Heym About His Books, About the Author's Difficulties and About the Dilemma of Being a GDR Writer"]

[Text] I visited Stefan Heym, born in 1913, in his beautiful home in the outskirts of East Berlin. It is the home of a "Bildungsburger," a classic home of cultivated people -- beautiful books, pictures and old furniture. I was immediately offered a brandy, but anyone who thinks this is a well-paid conformist writer is off the mark.

Heym is probably the most important dissident writer in the German Democratic Republic today and he also has a central position in East German literature. He was awarded the Heinrich Mann Prize in 1953 and the GDR National Prize in 1959 for his novels.

Although he early distinguished himself as a social protest writer when at the age of only 18 he aroused great alarm in his home town by writing a poem against the support of Chiang Kai-Chek by German troops he is still contending with unpleasantness and difficulties. He is not allowed to talk on radio or TV, he cannot take part in official functions or write for East German newspapers. It is hard for him to publish his books in the GDR -- the only place he can participate in meetings is in church. The church can announce only that a function is being held without giving more details as to the nature of the function.

Thus Stefan Heym must resort primarily to foreign media in order to get in touch with his GDR readers. He can travel outside the country and he can give interviews to foreign journalists as well as receive unlimited visits. But he is still cautious about what he says into a microphone.

### Apparatus

Heym feels East German society can be divided into three categories -critics, potential critics and the threefold state apparatus consisting
of the party, the government and the police, each organized in its own
hierarchy all the way from the base to the top. This hierarchy is recruited mainly from the working class and provides better pay, respect,
better working conditions and a feeling of power. Heym estimates that
20-25 percent of the population belongs to the hierarchy.

The potentially critical element is the largest part of the population. Their working conditions are not nearly as pleasant as those of the "apparatus" but they try to compensate for their dissatisfaction by demanding more private consumer goods. They are inspired in this direction by what they see on West German television. But since the GDR cannot satisfy demands stemming from the dream world of West German advertising TV dissatisfaction is mounting with the rapidly growing (but still too small) stock of consumer goods.

But the increase in consumption involves standing in line in order to buy things. In the center of Berlin I saw the longest lines in front of the stores selling spare parts for cars. This use of leisure time for waiting around also increases the dissatisfaction. Young people have developed a special relationship of conflict with the police. As soon as a few of the moped generation meet at a street corner the police turn up to check their driver's licenses. The general treatment of young people by the police could one day have extremely explosive consequences.

[Question] Stefan Heym, you wrote a book about the reconstruction problems of the GDR, of the conflicts that came to a head on 17 June 1953. What kind of a book is it and why isn't it available here in the GDR?

[Answer] The background for the book was that I experienced 17 June in Berlin and got a terrible shock. I couldn't imagine that workers in a socialist state, in a workers' state, in a state in which the businesses supposedly belong to them could strike their own firms. It wasn't logical. Therefore I began immediately to think about how such a thing could happen.

On that day I had been asked to a meeting of the Writers' Society. While people demonstrated outside 30 or 40 of us sat there and held our meeting. I got up and said it was quite clear to me that this kind of thing could happen when our union system didn't function at all. I went so far as to use the expression "pig manure" which aroused great alarm on the part of some orthodox gentlemen while others got up and said, "Right, that's the way things are." That's the reason the hero is a union official.

I regard the union as a key organization in this connection and I feel it is wrong that the trade unions in this state play such a subdued role and are regarded simply as transmitters for party plans. I began to think about this matter right away, talked with a lot of people and the evening of the 17th, as soon as I got home, I said, "There's a book in this."

I didn't begin writing the novel right away because at first I was thinking in more journalistic terms. I wanted to do something right then so I wrote a column in BERLINER ZEITUNG in which I tried to speak directly to the people. I took their criticism, discussed it and supported it when I thought it was correct.

[Question] Was it possible to write that kind of thing in BERLINER ZEITUNG, which after all is an East Berlin newspaper?

[Answer] It was possible then, but it wouldn't be today. I wasn't the only one who got a shock, the party did too and it was obvious people would have to be spoken to in a different way than had been the case. I managed to say all that in the column. But a few years later the orthodox had reestablished themselves so strongly that they were able to take my column in BERLINER ZEITUNG away from me. In that period I began to work on the book that came to be called "Day X." I talked to demonstrators, to government and party people and to high officials about the course of events, about the underlying causes, about what they had been doing that day, what their thoughts were, etc. I acquired an overwhelming mass of material and notes.

Then I started writing the book. When we got to the 20th party congress in the Soviet Union I was three-quarters of the way through. The congress confirmed a long list of things I had suspected but didn't know for sure, things that are reflected in the book. In "Day X" there are several kinds of party official, for I regarded 17 June as being primarily an internal party conflict as well as a fascist coup, of course, led from the other side.

It is true that the revolt was not planned in advance but the other side intervened as soon as it became aware that things were in ferment here.

[Question] I got the impression from your friend Robert Havemann's book, "Question -- Answer -- Question" that the fascist element had more significance in the manuscript of "Day X" than in "Five Days in June," in other words that the first version was more conspiratorial.

[Answer] Even though I knew a little about intelligence work from the American army because I had an intelligence officer dogging my footsteps during a great deal of the war this was pure fantasy. But precisely because it was so fantastic and there was no proof of any kind for it and

because it distracted attention from the major theme I took it out of the new version, "Five Days in June."

[Question] And you sent the first version around to friends and prominent personalities?

[Answer] I hoped that people with enough influence would say that this was something that ought to be published. For example I received a letter from LO [National Federation of Trade Unions] chairman Warnke saying: "Your book is quite right but I must tell you that our workers are not ready for it."

I think that is one of the reasons why even wellmeaning officials at the time opposed publication. They were afraid that the mistakes they had made would be dug up again and discussed. Their principle was that their mistakes were not to be discussed, that everything would be swept under the carpet. That is why the book could not be printed here. At the time I felt that if one of my books could not be printed here in the GDR I would not allow it to be printed in the West either. I did not get a printing permit for the first version, "Day X" so it was not brought out anywhere. List Publishers here in the GDR did want to bring it out but permission was withdrawn around 1959.

Censorship and the Other Books

So I laid the book aside because at the time I had the opinion that one should not publish a book in the West that could not be published in the GDR for reasons of solidarity and discussion. I have since changed my mind because I became aware that it was a terrible expansion of censorship to castrate oneself in that way. So after I published "The King David Report" I went back to my novel about 17 June.

In the meantime I had learned a lot about conditions in the GDR and about the development of socialism. I had experienced the developments in Poland and Czechoslovakia and I had learned a lot about the real causes for 17 June which I hadn't known before. So I decided that if I wanted to publish the book it would be necessary to rewrite it entirely. And I did, using the same characters as in "Day X" and the same situation but presented in a new way. Sharper, more critical and with more depth.

So in a way I am of course glad that various comrades helped me -- not for friendly reasons but viewed objectively -- by not allowing the first version to be printed. Now I hope the book is the way it should be but it is possible that in 20 years, if I live that long, I might realize I had still not gone into it in sufficient depth.

[Question] Did you get a permit to publish the new version?

[Answer] At that time I had three banned books -- the novel about Lasalle, the long short story about De Foe and "The King David Report." Then Honecker came into power in 1971 and all three books received permits. So the cultural policy change in 1971 was very important to me. For this reason I thought there was now a chance to publish the book about 17 June in the GDR. A chance to present it to the people I had really written it for.

Our big debates have to be conducted here. They concern us more than they do the Danish, American or West German working classes -- although our debates also concern the West German working class quite a bit. At that time I was good friends with a publisher here in the GDR who no longer works in publishing. I knew him -- he had formerly been minister of culture -- and I said that now it was time to publish the book. He promised to try to put it through. It almost worked too, but I noticed that he became anxious and held back. That was also due to the fact that it had been decided to publish the book in West Germany. Suddenly they asked me to make changes, changes of a type I could not accept and that would have made the book absurd. First and foremost they wanted the Russians removed from the story, but there was much more. It was simply impossible and I had to decide whether I would publish the book in the West even if it was not published here.

Since I had already tried this with the three other books that had been published in the West without having been published here I decided to have this book come out in the West. Maybe the book would have some effect over here so at some point it could be published here. I still haven't abandoned that hope. I am convinced that at some time or another there will be some changes so that the book can come out here but I have no idea when that might be.

Dilemma of Critical GDR Writers

[Question] It must be an uncomfortable dilemma for a socialist to have his criticism published abroad. But I suppose one has to face this choice sooner or later.

[Answer] It is a moral step one must take. One must decide whether it is more useful to submit here, to repress the criticism and the stories, to wait and see if they will change the system themselves or whether one should cross the border and publish a book outside the country. The situation is a special one for GDR writers because there are two German states. We don't have two Russian nations, one socialistic and one capitalistic or two Danish states, one socialistic and one capitalistic or two Danish states, one socialistic and one capitalistic. Germany occupies a special position in this respect. Publishers in a capitalistic country print that kind of book for commercial reasons, because they anticipate that it will create a sensation to have an author criticize his native land from abroad. One has to accept that in the

bargain just as one has to accept the fact that one will be attacked for it here. But what one has to decide is whether it isn't more important to get the book published in some way.

Because there are two German states this means that the book will also appear here even though in a much smaller edition than would be the case if it were published here. That kind of book is passed from hand to hand and thus reaches a large number of people. Our distribution opportunities differ fundamentally from the Russian "samisdat" and the corresponding papers in Czechoslovakia since those are handwritten or typewritten copies. With two German states it is entirely different because we share the same language and the media can cross any kind of boundary. These things can reach their public with no trouble at all via the West. This method of communication of course is directly contrary to the wishes of the state leaders for publication in the West illustrates their restrictive policies. That kind of publication can also lead to severe and unpleasant consequences, there have been examples of this, but one has to weigh that in advance.

When I published the Lasalle book at the end of the 1960's it was one of the first books by a living GDR writer to appear in the West without having been published here, and I was also penalized for it. There was an ordinance that if one published a book without having a publishing contract that had been approved by the authorities one could be fined up to 300 marks. This was an administrative fine, for if the amount had been higher it would have required a court trial. I paid the money by check, photocopied it and published the material in the press. After that I did not receive any similar fines.

Thus I have published my books without requesting permission but I have done so reluctantly. I would much prefer to be able to issue the books here and I am maintaining contact with the proper authorities. I mentioned the Lasalle episode because at that time it was a unique case. Today I am by no means the only GDR author to publish in the West, whenever it is impossible to get a book published here. There are many authors who do this and do not allow their works to be suppressed by censorship.

## Rudolf Bahro

[Question] Bahro was sentenced among other things for his royalties of 200,000 marks. Do you fear similar administrative difficulties?

[Answer] I would like to limit my remarks on the Bahro judgment to the following points. I have authoritative information about Bahro's alleged violation and his trial and I am familiar with the ADN press report that was published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 1 July. Unfortunately I must say

that I was not convinced by the ADN statement. What happened to Bahro could happen to any author here and it has nothing to do with changes in the cultural policy. The law under which Bahro was sentenced is so comprehensive that any writer or journalist or anyone talking to somebody on the street could be locked up just like Bahro. They must keep that in mind.

[Question] Is the GDR acquiring a body of emigrant literature? An external emigrant literature that appears in West Germany and an internal emigrant literature, a literature in "disguise"? How many authors who are critics of the system live in the GDR?

[Answer] That is very hard to answer since the figure is constantly changing. There are authors like Heiduczeck, for instance, who has now published a book that has been officially attacked and may not be allowed to be reprinted. No one had expected him to write a book that was critical in any way. He has always been one of the well-behaved ones and suddenly he was seized by this unhealthy desire to present the truth. The truth is always a great temptation to an author. Therefore you can't really say how many critical writers there are. My answer would be -- potentially they all are.

[Question] What would be the consequences if "Five Days in June" came out in the GDR today?

[Answer] Well, it would be quite a sensation. And I think we could sell at least 100,000 copies in a week. There would be that much interest in the book. A lot of people know the book exists and a somewhat smaller group knows my position on the matter. Thus they would be extremely interested in the book. Publication would not lead to immediate political consequences, by which I mean that people would not use the book as a guide and try to create another 17 June. And official sources probably don't fear that either but apparently they do fear that people would begin to think about and discuss the job a union should be doing and that they would start discussing the relations between the party and the working class.

It is my opinion that a very large part of the population does not oppose socialism. But people are opposed to many aspects of socialism as it is practiced here. But these aspects are caused by certain structures and the people can see that those within the structures are sitting comfortably and are afraid of losing their offices. That is the situation.

#### EAST GERMANY

EAST BERLIN PUBLISHES ULBRICHT RIVAL DAHLEM'S MEMOIRS

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 32 No 35, 28 Aug 78 pp 65-70

[Unattributed article: "SED: Struggle for Leadership--The Rise and Fall of Former Ulbricht Rival Franz Dahlem." A Discussion of Franz Dahlem's memoirs, "Am Vorabend des zweiten Weltkrieges. Erinnerungen" (On the Eve of the Second World War. Memoirs), two volumes, 495 and 475 pages, published recently by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin; combined price 23 marks.]

[Text] Encouraged by Erich Honecker, former SED chief Franz Dahlem, stripped of power in 1953, recently published his memoirs. Although the recollections of the 86-year-old man are confined to the prewar years, they provide evidence that only when Dahlem was removed did Walter Ulbricht succeed in rising to the head of the party.

On 13 January 1952, SED General Secretary Walter Ulbricht sent a message of congratulations to his strongest rival. In the name of the Central Committee, he wished the "dear comrade" Franz Dahlem, member of the politburo and head of the cadre division of the SED Central Committee, on his 60th birthday "health and many more years of successful work in the struggle for the democratic unity of our fatherland."

A full year later, the successful period had already come to an end for Franz Dahlem. On 14 May 1953, the Central Committee dismissed him, on Ulbricht's orders, from all official positions and functions. Charged by Ulbricht with an investigation of "the entire conduct of comrade Dahlem," the Central Party Control Commission also subsequently issued the deposed Dahlem in writing a "severe reprimand"—for "conduct unbecoming to party members" and "total blindness toward attempts of imperialist agents to penetrate the party."

Dahlem did not get the opportunity to take revenge on his opponent until after the latter's death in 1973: Ulbricht-successor Erich Honecker encouraged the old comrade to write his memoirs.

With scrupulous exactitude, Dahlem recorded his eventful life as Communist Party politician in 16 manuscript volumes. Two of these, amounting to almost 1,000 pages, were recently brought out by the East Berlin Dietz Publishing House.\*

True, during the course of de-Stalinization Dahlem was publicly rehabilitated as early as August 1956, and in early February 1957 he was also coopted again into the Central Committee. But he never again managed a return to the Politburo--the real power center of the party. Until today, the skilled shop assistant had to be satisfied with the uninfluential position of Deputy Minister for Higher and Vocational Education.

Thus all the more tempting appeared the opportunity to settle in writing, under Honecker's protection, the account with the man in whose shadow he had been standing all his life.

Entrusted during the last year and a half prior to the war with the direction of the Central Committee Secretariat of the exiled KPD [Communist Party of Germany] Dahlem rapidly advanced after 1945 to become the second most powerful man in the Soviet Zone [Soviet occupied part of Germany]. As chief of cadres, he determined the personnel policies of the SED, and as head of the West Commission of the Central Committee, he was in command of the underground activities of the communists—at that time still tolerated as a party—in the Federal Republic of Germany. Apart from Ulbricht, he was the only party member to belong both to the Politburo and to the Central Committee Secretariat.

At that time, in the founding years of the GDR, it almost appeared for a time that his influence in the party was a match for Ulbricht's power. For unlike the General Secretary, who got respect by spreading fear, Dahlem, from the days of the common struggle, had many friends among the old communists.

Like few others, GDR communist Dahlem, decorated with the highest medals, represents a shining piece of the history of the German and the international workers' movement. Born in 1892 in Lorraine, at that time part of the German empire, he was at 21 a member of the SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands--Social Democratic Party of Germany]. In 1917 he joined the USPD [Unabhaengige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands--Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany], which in 1920 affiliated with the KPD, and he became a deputy in the Prussian Landtag. After 1928 he was a member of the German parliament, editor of ROTE FAHNE in Berlin; he was a member of the Central Political Directorate of the International

<sup>\*</sup>Franz Dahlem, "Am Vorabend des Zweiten Weltkreiges. Erinnerungen," (On the Eve of the Second World War. Memoirs, Dietz Verlag Berlin, two volumes, 495 and 475 pages, combined price 23 marks.

Brigades in the Spanish civil war, he headed the West emigration in Paris, and at the outbreak of the war he was subjected to internment camp and concentration camp. Then came the SED career, so suddenly interrupted by Ulbricht—a span of time of political and historic experience which, among the surviving representatives of the old socialist guard, Dahlem shares at most with Herbert Wehner, if anyone.

But when the memoirs—in any case limited to the rather harmless years before the war—came out, the author dampened high expectations early on, in the foreword: With the assistance of party historians of the Institute for Marxism—Leninism, he announced, he had attempted to omit too much subjectivity so as to avoid "misinterpretations" of the collective accomplishments of the party.

Indeed, in memoirs-writer Dahlem the loyalty of the functionary gained the upper hand over the bitterness of the old fighter: He said nothing about disagreements with Ulbricht, wrote not a line about the bloody purges which in the thirties cost thousands of comrades their lives and violently shook communist parties throughout the entire world.

Just the same, the two volumes contain enough interesting material, some of it previously unknown, to amount to several retouch-jobs on the historical portrait of the SED as officially painted by the party. In spite of Dahlem's expurgated style, they document mainly one thing: In the years 1933 to 1939, Walter Ulbricht in no way occupied an unchallenged position in the KPD.

In December 1937—Dahlem was at the time with the 11th German-speaking and the 15th Anglo-American brigade on the Aragon front in Spain—an urgent summons reached him from Moscow to come as soon as possible to the Soviet capital for a report for the Comintern.

Without suspecting the real reasons for his recall, Dahlem went from Barcelona to Paris. There he wanted to meet with Ulbricht, Paul Merker and Paul Bertz who, together with him, made up the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the KPD, the real leadership organ of the party.

In Paris he learned from the comrades that Ulbricht, who headed the secretariat at the time, had also been ordered to Moscow for a report.

## Constant Troubles with Ulbricht

Dahlem found out the reason when, immediately after his arrival in late January 1938 in the Moscow emigrant hotel Lux, he was received for a talk by party boss Wilhelm Pieck: The executive Committee of the Communist International was apparently dissatisfied with Ulbricht's work in Paris.

Pieck--"his eyes often wandered and he was worried," Dahlem remembers--was distressed primarily by the development in the "Committee for the

Preparation of a German People's Front" which had been formed on KPD initiative on 6 February 1936 in the Paris Hotel Lutetia.

For the German communists, the People's Front Committee was the first successful attempt, after several futile trials, to realize the resolutions of the Comintern Congress of 1935. If the KPD had until then reviled the Social Democrats as "social fascists" and road clearers for national socialism, so now, according to the will of the Soviets, it was to offer the exile governing body of the SPD the "united front from above."

In the People's Front Committee many prominent antifascists of divergent views had formed an alliance: Author Heinrich Mann as chairman and colleagues like Lion Feuchtwanger, Ernst Toller and Ludwig Marcuse took care of reputation; the SPD supplied such well-known comrades as Rudolf Breitscheid, former leader of the Social Democratic faction in Parliament, Max Braun, head of the National Committee in France, and Albert Grzesinski, former police president of Berlin.

But the antifascist harmony did not last long. The inflexible dogmatism that the communists exhibited in the committee went against the grain of the Social Democrats. Especially Ulbricht, who apparently could conceive of the United Front only as consent of all others to his course, appeared unbearable to them. The constant troubles induced Heinrich Mann in the fall of 1937 to complain in a letter to Pieck about Ulbricht's "disloyal behavior," and he threatened to cease his work with the People's Front.

In agreement with Comintern General Secretary Georgi Dimitroff, the Central Committee members present in Moscow therefore decided to recall Ulbricht from Paris--and to replace him by the more adroit Dahlem.

The new head of the Central Committee secretariat took up his post in the French capital in late June 1938. He quickly recognized what mistakes had been made by his predecessor who "at times did not immediately find the appropriate measures for the real situation" (Dahlem). "The direct tie of the leading functionary of the secretariat" to the People's Front Committee, he wrote, "means an unacceptable superelevation" and simultaneously limits "quite considerably the tactical maneuverability of our party in altercations ... with the vacillating forces (of the People's Front policies)."

So as not to expose himself, as Ulbricht had before him, to the conflict of interest between rigorous party orthodoxy and the tolerance required for the committee work, Dahlem decided to stay out of the committee altogether. He preferred, as he explained to Paul Merker at the occasion of the first leadership talk in Paris, to function from behind the curtain.

First, however, he had to take care of the "undoubtedly most unpleasant" task: the dismissal of Willi Muenzenberg.

Muenzenberg, a talented organizer and propagandist who in the Weimar Republic had erected a powerful media empire for the KPD, was the driving force in the People's Front Committee. He impressed the Social Democrats with his admission that a true united front was possible only on the basis of complete freedom of religion and conscience. And he missed no opportunity to protest against Ulbricht's "petty politics of subterfuges."

The reprimanded Ulbricht took revenge by properly denouncing Muenzenberg in Moscow--from his point of view not without justification because, as Dahlem found out in Paris, it was Muenzenberg who urged Heinrich Mann to write the letter of complaint to Pieck.

The members of the Central Committee in Moscow therefore decided, even prior to Dahlem's return to Paris, to expel Muenzenberg from the Central Committee, to release him from all party functions, and to propose that the Comintern launch investigation proceedings against him.

Dahlem felt anything but in good spirits when he brought the comrade, whose party work he thoroughly appreciated, the verdict from Moscow. Muenzenberg reacted indeed with a fit of rage and screamed "angrily and uncontrollably;" to Dahlem's well-meant advice to show regrets ('Willi, turn round before it is too late!") he replied that he wouldn't think of playing the "scapegoat for the faults of others"--undoubtedly referring to Ulbricht's failure in the People's Front politics.

He had nothing but scorn for the summons to go to Moscow and justify himself in front of the control commission. For that they would have to wait a long time. Muenzenberg, who on the occasion of his last Moscow visit in 1936 had reacted with horror to the disappearance of such proven fighters as Sinoviev or Karl Radek, knew for certain that he would not have returned from this trip.

His mysterious death in June 1940—he was found strangled in a forest in Southern France—gave rise to many rumors. A whole series of indications seemed to speak against suicide. Muenzenberg's lifetime companion, Babette Gross, leans toward the view that the Communist Party propagandist was the victim of a treacherous murder by the Soviet secret service.

On this issue, Dahlem says: "To want to destroy him physically would have been an absurd idea, the perpetration of which would have stamped him as a martyr; and in this our side certainly had no interest whatsoever." An argument which may be plausible for Dahlem, but surely hardly for Stalin's state security service which, two months later, did not permit such considerations to deter it from murdering Trotsky.

Conspiratorial Connections with the Imprisoned Thaelmann

With Muenzenberg's removal, the vitality had gone out of the work of the People's Front Committee. In spite of Dahlem's reserved behavior, the

communists did not succeed further in persuading the SPD to continue its participation.

After the breakdown of the People's Front attempt, the Communist Party leadership in Paris concentrated on the development of the illegal communist resistance in the Reich-with, if one is to believe Dahlem, considerable success.

Thus, via 15 instructors, the Secretariat was in steady contact with the roughly 30 Berlin party groups, some of which worked in large-scale enterprises such as the Siemens Works. About the same number of couriers maintained regular contact with Saxony, Thuringia and Silesia. The ROTE FAHNE, printed in small format, went out into the country in large editions.

But the party achieved the greatest success of its conspiratorial work with the bridge it established to Ernst Thaelmann, chairman of the KPD, held under arrest by the Gestapo since March 1933.

The communists had succeeded early in winning Thaelmann's defense attorneys to some extent over to their side. As Dahlem reveals, Friedrich Roetter, a lawyer of German nationality and Jewish descent, above all rendered an invaluable service to the KPD: In exchange for a promise of the Central Committee to get him out of the country via the illegal Communist Party apparatus and, once abroad, to supply him with a substantial sum of foreign currency, Roetter, for one night, turned his Berlin office over to the communists so that they could copy the bill of indictments against Thaelmann. Couriers got copies abroad where the party exploited them propagandistically.

For a while, the KPD even entertained the idea of freeing its chairman by force from the Moabit prison; at the Comintern, according to Dahlem, a special group under Bela Kun, leader of the 1919 Hungarian revolution, forged appropriate plans.

But when, in the summer of 1938, Dahlem assumed responsibility from Paris for party contact with Thaelmann, he no longer had at his disposal "adequate means to undertake such a task." But the line of contact was maintained: via the courier Walter Trautzsch (pseudonym: "Edwin") of whose existence only a very few top comrades knew.

Trautzsch, a metal presser from Chemnitz [now Karl-Marx-Stadt, GDR], who had shown a capability for higher tasks during the 1923 Hamburg communist uprising, was chosen by the Politburo in August 1936 for his involvement in that dangerous venture. For reasons of security, he had to live in complete isolation in Paris: the only comrades he was allowed to talk to were Dahlem and the latter's Central Committee co-worker Anton Ackermann.

"At least eighteen times," Dahlem recollects, Trautzsch alias Edwin went with different passports and over diverse travel routes to Germany, where he met secretly with Thaelmann's wife Rosa in Hamburg. Orally, he transmitted to her the information from the Central Committee for her husband, waited for her visit to the prison, and returned thereafter with Thaelmann's reply to Paris.

After two years, the conspiratorial missions and the constant isolation had made a nervous wreck out of Trautzsch, so that Dahlem found it necessary in November, 1938, to give him instructions in case he should fall into the hands of the Gestapo and the connection with Thaelmann be discovered: "In such a case," the head of the Central Committee Secretariat explained to comrade Edwin, "the party would be quite in agreement if (Trautzsch) were to see his only way out in putting an end to his own life."

Even today, the gruesome recommendation awakens twinges of conscience in Dahlem, since after all it bordered, so he writes, "undoubtedly ... on the extreme of what is permitted in an illegal struggle." But "in the face of the barbaric torture methods used by the Gestapo, no unconditional guarantee could be given in the case of any comrade that he would (not) involuntarily divulge secrets ... For all these reasons, I still support even today the view ... that I gave Comrade Walter Trautzsch correct and necessary instruction."

Trautzsch survived. He died in 1971 in Leipzig, decorated for his services with the silver Fatherland Merit badge.

Although the contact with Thaelmann functioned well into the war, the traumatic question still torments Dahlem, after more than 30 years, of whether the party really did "everything humanly possible" to "save this most valuable life of the German working class."

Dahlem's Mistake Opened the Way for Ulbricht

In this connection, Dahlem mentions an occurrence which up to now was in all likelihood not known to historians of the Second World War.

In February, 1943--Dahlem, in the meantime, had been handed over by the Vichy government to the Germans--a communist spy whispered to him in the detention prison in Berlin's Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse that there was a rumor among SS leaders that Thaelmann and several other leading communists--among them also Dahlem--were to be traded for Field Marshal General Paulus and several of the army generals captured at Stalingrad.

"Indeed," according to Dahlem, "this story played a certain role during my hearings." He learned of the background only after 1945 from an exporter who during the war transacted business on order of the [German] army in neutral foreign countries. This man, whose name Dahlem does not reveal,

claimed to have learned personally from Mrs. Paulus that there had really been such a petition, directed by her to Hitler.

The intervention, if indeed it took place, accomplished nothing: On Himmler's instigation, Thaelmann was shot in 1944 in Buchenwald concentration camp.

In the short time from the summer of 1938 to the outbreak of war in September 1939, Franz Dahlem, as head of the Central Committee Secretariat in Paris, undoubtedly reached the pinnacle of his party career. He held in his hands the operative strings, he knew what went on in the Reich, and he also decided what information about the illegal work was forwarded to Moscow to Pieck and Ulbricht.

Had he succeeded in returning to the Soviet Union in time, before the French declaration of war on Germany—he would surely have maintained his position in the KPD as second man next to Pieck.

But then he made a decisive mistake.

In the early days of September, the French Ministry of the Interior had placards posted everywhere in Paris calling upon German and Austrian emigrants to register with the police so that, on the basis of personal documents submitted, they could be given official residence permits. Any who disobeyed were threatened with prosecution under martial law as spies.

Dahlem, to be sure, suspected that the French might immediately intern registered communists. But since he did not see a possibility of "reliable illegality" for himself and his comrades, and after consultation with the French Communist Party leadership, he succeeded at the last deliberation of his party secretariat on 4 and 5 September 1939 in having the German Central Committee members in Paris obey the summons of the authorities.

His hope that the French police would go easy on the KPD cadres, as proven opponents of the Nazi regime, proved fallacious: Dahlem disappeared in the internment camp of Vernet; the Vichy government in 1942 turned him over to the Gestapo. Full of forebodings, he destroyed all written party material before going to register with the police, including all Thaelmann papers. He wrote a final report for Pieck in Moscow, but it never reached the addressee.

For Ulbricht, however, the way to the top had now been cleared. Moreover, Dahlem had delivered him a trump card free of charge which he was ready to play at the proper occasion: When Ulbricht in 1953 divested his rival of power, the latter's alleged 1939 "liquidation policy" was among the most important articles of indictment.

The decision to surrender to the Paris police, so decreed the SED General Secretary [Ulbricht], had its roots in "inadequate faith in the Soviet Union and the resulting erroneous assessment of the nonaggression pact between the Soviet Union and Hitler Germany."

A rebuke which surely contains a grain of truth, for it obviously hits home with memoir-writer Dahlem. Certainly, he admits, the "sensational TASS communication of 21 August" that Ribbentrop was on his way from Berlin to Moscow to sign the German-Soviet nonaggression pact "surprised" him.

But this surprise in no way meant that "our deeply-rooted faith in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its General Secretary Stalin had begun to waver."

He could not convince Ulbricht with such assertions, but he did succeed with Erich Honecker. The latter attested with "brotherly love" at Comrade Dahlem's 80th birthday in January 1972 that, 19 years previously, Dahlem had been relieved of his functions "on the basis of false accusations."

9011

EAST GERMANY

#### WEST GERMAN ANALYSIS OF GDR CHURCH RELATIONS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 29 Sep 78 p 2

[Article by Reinhard Henkys (epd): "Sometimes Awkward; Always Loyal"]

[Text] The Evangelical Churches in the GDR see an important social mission: the bringing up for discussion among the populace subjects and questions which the government would rather treat formally or have hushed up. This was reconfirmed recently at the annual Synod meeting of the GDR Church Foundation.

The church's protest against the obligatory military science course is well known. The Synod unanimously deplored the fact that in spite of serious church arguments this premilitary course has been begun. However, the church is not just concerned with criticism and protest, but desires more positive measures too: it wishes basically that the goals for peace repeatedly emphasized by the socialist government should be taken up more seriously than in the past, and be more effectively promulgated within the consciousnesses of the people. It desires, as a countermeasure to the military science course, to initiate as broad a study as possible of peace and demonstrate ways of putting it in practice. It claims in this, if necessary, also to ride hard on society, and in this can even call on President Stroh who—as Bishop Krusche disclosed to reporters—has indicated to church representatives at a private meeting, that important thoughts and goals do not always have to originate within the government.

The church stressed its autonomous social commitment that, even when a critical tone is struck, is not directed against the GDR, but when understood correctly is directed towards it, and the humanization of life in that country. That is also true for the new theme which suddenly appeared at the forefront of this Synod meeting: the confrontation with the national socialist past, a clearing up of old guilts which would be productive for the present and future. A declaration by church leaders on the occasion of the upcoming 40th anniversary of the start of the Jewish progroms on 9 November 1938, the so-called Reich's Crystal Night, makes that clear:

The confrontation with the past should occur in such a way that it allows deficiencies in present-day relations to be better recognized and overcome, for example tendencies toward discrimination against foreign workers which also exist in the GDR.

Again this is not directed against the GDR. The latter's antifascist stance is well known. However the church does not share the belief that national socialist agitation can be fought through laws, and that the socialist form of society has destroyed, for example, the roots of antisemitism, as communist theory claims.

The church also desires that there be more public information and discussion about isolated, obviously misguided developments within the GDR and it contributes to this. This is, in view of the country's political relations, a difficult task, even though Erich Honecker has expressly reassured the churches that they are and should be an autonomous factor within GDR society.

The important word in this is "within." Church leaders such as Bishop Schoenherr and Krusche, but by no means just they, always react sharply when Western politicians or political writers do not respect this. The argument runs as follows: Every use of independent and critical church discussions in the GDR for Western political and journalistic arguments with the GDR or for a polemic against the GDR automatically endangers the tolerance for public speech within the country which the church is struggling to broaden.

The church in the GDR is taking a conscious risk in holding its Synod publicly and in encouraging free speech in the presence of reporters from both East and West. They are not opposed to commentary by Western media. What they are afraid of are shifts in accent and interpretations which are not the result of consultation with GDR christians but which correspond to internal political needs and cliches in the FRG and which then force GDR leaders to stress their loyalty as a church within socialism more strongly than would be necessary and reasonable from their own situation.

8537

HUNGARY

#### BRIEFS

HUNGARIAN-CUBAN EDUCATION COOPERATION-Budapest, 21 Oct (MTI)--Fernando Cecino Alegret, Cuban minister of higher education, and Dr Karoly Polinszky, Hungarian education minister, Saturday signed in Budapest a cooperation work plan between the Cuban Ministry of Higher Education and the Hungarian Ministry of Education. They agreed to commemorate mutually each other's state and national holidays, support direct cooperation between the two countries' higher educational institutes--which involves also the exchange of professors and students, to work together in international organizations, to invite scholarships and study trips to each other's country. The Cuban side will receive Hungarian scholarship holders in order that these can broaden and improve their knowledge of Spanish language and Latin American literature. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1707 GMT 21 Oct 78 LD]

MSZMP DELEGATION TO MADRID--Budapest, 23 Oct (MTI)--Invited by the Spanish Communist Party Central Committee, a delegation of the HSWP led by Janos Berecz, head of the Central Committee's Foreign Department, left for Madrid today. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 23 Oct 78 LD]

SPANISH TRADE UNION DELEGATION--Budapest, 23 Oct (MTI)--At an invitation from the Hungarian Trade Union Council, a Spanish trade union delegation arrived in Hungary Monday, under the leadership of Luis Alonso Novo, secretary of the General Workers Union of Spain (UGT). In Hungary, the Spanish trade union leaders will be studying the place and role in socialist society and the activity of the trade unions. Monday, talks were opened between the Spanish and Hungarian trade union leaders. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 23 Oct 78 LD]

POLAND

JARUZELSKI SEES POLISH ARMY AS CREATOR, NOT JUST CONSUMER OF VALUES

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Oct 78 p 4 LD

[Article by W. Jaruzelski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish minister of national defense: "In Fraternal Unity"]

[Text] Warsaw--It is 35 years since the soldiers of the Tadeusz Kosciuszko 1st Polish Infantry Division joined battle against the Hitlerite invaders near Lenino on Belorussian soil on 12 October 1943.

From the military viewpoint this was a carefully planned and courageously implemented tactical operation; but from the political viewpoint this event was destined to play an exceptionally important strategic role. The fighting near Lenino was the symbol marking the historic turnabout which took place in the life of our people during the liberation war. It was the beginning of the road which the Polish communists indicated to the people at the military crossroads.

The creation of the Polish Army in the USSR was a national and at the same time a class, revolutionary act. In accordance with the party's ideological principles, this army was to participate in the liberation of the occupied country, fighting alongside the victorious Soviet Army on the main front of World War II. But it was also to be and actually became an essential factor for the social restructuring of society, participating in the elimination of the bourgeois setup and performing an important role by obstructing the attempts of reactionary forces to seize state power in the liberated country.

Right from the start a characteristic feature of our people's armed forces was a deep-rooted sense of fraternal ties with the Soviet Army. The very fact of the formation of the Polish Army was possible thanks to the comprehensive, selfless Soviet aid--aid with cadres, material and technical assistance and organizational and training assistance. Without it we would have been unable to create in a short time a strong, well-armed army of more than 400,000 men.

This army accumulated comprehensive combat experience. The fighting on the Matnuszew bridgehead, the participation in the liberation of Warsaw, the breaching of the mighty Hitlerite fortifications called the "Pomeranian Wall," the advance to the Baltic--to Kolobrzeg and Gdansk--the crossing of the Oder and the Lausitzer Neisse, the participation in the Berlin operation and the storming of the capital of the Hitlerite empire--all these battles were significant landmarks in the history of our armed struggle.

The entrusting to Polish formations and units of such responsible and, from the national viewpoint, political and highly important tasks was an expression of respect for our people's struggle and sacrifices, evidence of the high assessment of the Polish People's Army and a manifestation of internationalist sensitivity and consideration for us on the part of the Soviet ally.

In hard fighting the Soviet Army liberated our motherland. Many millions of Soviet soldiers from the five fronts crossed its land. The remains of 600,000 dead Soviet soldiers rest in its earth. There is probably no corner of the USSR where you cannot encounter former frontline soldiers who know Poland from the wartime and who are linked with it by heroic chapters of their lives. Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and a great friend of Poland, as well as many of the present Soviet party, state and military figures fought for the freedom of the Polish land.

"Our people will never forget the liberation mission of the Soviet Army and the Soviet soldiers who shed their blood and gave their lives in the name of a free Poland," Comrade E. Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has noted.

Our subsequent multifaceted cooperation is the peaceful contemporary continuation of the military traditions of Polish-Soviet combat friendship. Even today we make constant use of the tremendous scientific and training, material and technical and ideological education experience of the first working people's army in world history. We constantly deepen mutual understanding, respect and friendship with the Soviet Army.

Thus we rightly regard the jubilee of the Polish People's Army as also a jubilee of Polish-Soviet fraternity in arms.

The entire history of our armed forces is a kind of reflection of the fate of the people. Their past and present in a certain way reflects the internal and external nature of the state. At the present time the Polish People's Army is fulfilling its tasks under the specific conditions of the building of socialism. The sociopolitical activeness stimulated by the party's policy and the country's technical and economic development have created and are creating the internal foundation for the defense of

People's Poland. Our solidarity participation in the Warsaw Pact and fraternity with the Soviet Union and its army have constituted and continue to constitute the main external condition for our national security. The cooperation which strengthens with every passing year within the framework of the military-political alliance of the fraternal socialist states—the Warsaw Pact—augments our joint defense potential. The allied unity of our armies is displayed most effectively during the joint exercises and maneuvers. These are a contemporary form of continuing the international tradition initiated by older generations in the class battles as well as in the war against fascism.

The desire to exclude war from international relations stems from the class nature of socialism. As a result of the real correlation of forces in the world arena and of the active strategy of peace and tremendous efforts of the Soviet Union and all the fraternal socialist states, definite successes have been achieved on this path. However, clouds have once again been gathering over the world lately. To Lenin's well-known remark that "politically, imperialism is in general a desire for violence and reaction" it can be added that by virtue of its very nature imperialism also engenders cold war forces. The military-industrial complexes and various influential reactionary circles are fueling the arms race and poisoning the international atmosphere.

Socialism's historical service is successful opposition to all these threats. The decisive role in this is played by the Soviet Union, which bears the brunt of the defense efforts of our entire community. People's Poland and its armed forces participate on an appropriate scale in strengthening the socialist community's defense potential, creating together with the fraternal countries the necessary conditions for the further active and effective development of the policy of peace and of insuring the security of the peoples. This is the extremely profound meaning of our military service and of the motives which prompt us to be always in a state of combat readiness and to improve combat training.

One feature of the new type of army is that in peacetime, in addition to performing its basic defense role, it participates actively in the building of socialism. The soldiers of our army are working on many construction projects in the country. The servicemen working in science, technology and culture make a substantial contribution to the socioeconomic life of People's Poland. Moreover, thousands of young people—ideologically mature, disciplined young people who more often than not have enhanced their professional skill during their military service—who are transferred to the reserve leave the ranks of the army each year and join in production and other spheres of social life.

Thus our people's army, which has been created and educated in the spirit of unity with the people, is not only a consumer but also a creator of socialist values.

The Marxist-Leninist party-the PZPR-is the political leader of the Polish People's Army and the force which determines the direction of its development and its intrinsic nature. The party's program, ideology and policy mobilize our soldiers to fulfill new, increasingly complex tasks.

The party pays tremendous attention to the problem of cadres. Their class and mainly worker-peasant character testifies to the scale of the process of the people's social, professional and cultural growth in the army and throughout society. Our military cadres are a selfless, highly educated detachment of the people's intelligentsia—a reliable, tempered, proven asset of the party.

Operating within the framework of the party's unified educational program, we are deepening the patriotic and internationalist thinking of our soldiers. A good contribution to the formation of such a world outlook is made by the rich educational material bequeathed by the history of the struggle against Hitlerism. We are utilizing this year's jubilees—the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Army and the 35th anniversary of the Polish People's Army—to deepen society's class consciousness and to raise the effectivenss of all our work. Increasingly high combat readiness, diligence, initiative and discipline—that is the evidence of real patriotism. At the same time, internationalism and a sense of solidarity with the socialist friends and with all progressive forces have penetrated deep into the soldiers' consciousness. Their attitude toward the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army is of particular importance here. We will always pay the greatest attention to patriotic and internationalist education in our armed forces.

On the 35th anniversary of Poland's armed forces, I would like to take advantage of this opportunity to convey in PRAVDA, on behalf of all Polish soldiers, cordial congratulations to our Soviet comrades in arms—to those who in the ranks of the Soviet Army shed their blood for the freedom of our land, to those who helped us both in the war years and in peacetime in the Polish Army to struggle and then strengthen the defense capability of People's Poland and to those who now serve in the alliance the general cause of defending peace and the security of the socialist community.

ROMANIA

#### DEFENSE MINISTER COMAN ISSUES ARMY DAY STATEMENT

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Oct 78 p 2 AU

[Text] Twenty-five October marks the day of the army of the Socialist Republic of Romania, a time when, closely united with the RCP and its general secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, all our people are firmly engaged in resolutely implementing the historical decisions of the 11th Party Congress and of the national conference, and the party program of building socialism and communism on Romanian soil.

Recalling the elating moment of 34 years ago when Romania's liberation from fascist domination took place, our socialist nation pays deep homage to the bravery and spirit of sacrifice shown by the Romanian soldiers who, upon the RCP's appeal, resolutely participated, together with the patriotic guards and with all the people, in achieving the anti-imperialist, anti-fascist armed national insurrection of August 1944 and who then fought shoulder-to-shoulder with the glorious Soviet soldiers to oust the fascist invaders from the last bit of Romanian soil and then, beyond our fatherland's borders, fought to free Hungary and Czechoslovakia up until the final victory over Nazi Germany.

Enjoying the party's constant concern and the love and appreciation of all people, our country's army today shows itself as our fatherland's devoted defender and as the defender of the revolutionary achievements recorded by the Romanian people and participates actively in all aspects of our economic, political and social life.

Comrade soldiers, corporals, noncommissioned officers and military technicians, officers and generals, on army day I extend to you warmest congratulations for the results recorded in combat-preparedness and political training and in all fields of military life and wish you new and important successes in all your activities.

Vividly carrying in your hearts the traditions of former contingents and being proud of our fatherland's socialist present and communist future, devote all your energy to commendably fulfilling the tasks set by our

supreme commander, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in his speech at the meeting of the army's basic commanding and party aktiv to raise the combat-preparedness and political training of units and large units to a new and qualitatively higher level. Act with determination and patriotic enthusiasm in properly organizing and carrying out the entire educational-instructional process in keeping with the requirements of the national military doctrine, of understanding and perfectly handling fighting equipment, of strengthening order, discipline and revolutionary vigilance, of promoting a combative spirit in the entire military life and the norms and principles of socialist ethics and equity and in promoting a spirit of responsibility in commendably and unconditionally carrying out all missions entrusted to you!

Be ready at any time to defend, together with all people, the great achievements of the working people and the independence, sovereignty and integrity of our dear fatherland—the Socialist Republic of Romania!

In honor of the army day of the Socialist Republic of Romania,

#### I order:

Twenty-one artillery salvoes shall be fired as a salute in Bucharest on 25 October at 2100 hours!

Long live the RCP headed by its secretary general--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu!

Long live and flourish our dear fatherland—the Socialist Republic of Romania!

Long live the army of the Socialist Republic of Romania--a reliable shield for our people's revolutionary achievements!

[Signed] Minister of National Defense Col Gen Ion Coman.

ROMANIA

#### BRIEFS

SOCIALIST DELEGATIONS DEPART--The Bulgarian, CSSR, GDR, Mongolian, Polish, Hungarian and Soviet delegations which participated in the 14th meeting of managers of central institutions specializing in long-term goods preservation within the national economies of the CEMA socialist member states, held in Brasov, left Romania. [date not given] [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Oct 78 p 5 AU]

CONGRATULATIONS TO TURKEY OFFICIAL—To His Excellency Mr Fahri S. Koruturk, president of the Republic of Turkey, Ankara. The national anniversary of the Republic of Turkey gives me the pleasant opportunity to convey to you most cordial congratulations and wishes for personal happiness, and for progress and prosperity to the friendly Turkish people, on behalf of the Romanian people and myself. I want to express my conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Turkey will further develop, in the interests of our peoples, and of the cause of peace, cooperation and security in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world. [Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Oct 78 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2700

END